

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XVIII.



London:

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, & ROBERTS.

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THE JOURNAL

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British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1862.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CONGRESS IN EXETER

BY SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BART., M.P., C.B., M.A.,
PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

I COULD have wished that this meeting had commenced, or rather that the meeting which has begun, could have been continued where it was commenced, at the Guildhall; which, for a purpose such as the present, would undoubtedly have been the most appropriate place for our reception by the mayor and corporation, and for the inauguration of proceedings of an archaeological character. But this is one of those cases in which we have had to consider the habits of modern civilization, and to ascertain where the ladies who honour us with their presence could find the most comfortable reception. I am pleased to see that this room, which has so often been the stage of your festive gatherings, but which is now the scene of something which I will not call serious,—but which, nevertheless, approaches to the nature of business,—is so well filled by the ladies, who thus shew the interest which they take in our proceedings; because we know that nothing in this world prospers heartily and well unless the ladies are kind enough to take an interest in it. I must begin what I have to say by mentioning to those who had not the advantage of being present, that we, the members of the British Archaeological Association, have already been received in the most hospitable manner, at the

Guildhall, by the mayor of this city; that we were entertained in a manner which I am sure all would, for the credit of the city, have approved of; and that the Association has received at the hands of the corporation a very elegant and interesting present,—a present of the book I now hold, being the *Description of the Guildhall at Exeter*, by two friends of ours, whose names I am glad to take this opportunity of commemorating; whose names I am sure you will all receive with interest, and whom we cannot but regret that we are now unable any longer to see amongst us,—I mean our two lately departed friends, the rev. Dr. Oliver and Mr. Pitman Jones. They are names that I am sure are so well known, not only to every Devonian and Exonian, but to every archaeologist, that I need not make any apology for introducing them at this moment, and for saying that if there is anything which mars the pleasure we have in receiving the Association on the present occasion, it is the thought that men who had so peculiar a claim to have stood forward as the representatives of the archaeologists of Devonshire, are no longer amongst us.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I find on looking back at the records of the proceedings of this Association on former occasions, that it has been the habit of those who have held the office which now I have the honour to fill, to commence the business by addressing to the Association something in the nature of an inaugural address, in which they have pointed out the particular objects of interest which the district visited contains, and in which they have brought to the notice of the visitors a great many matters of interest and importance. I wish very much it were in my power to follow the example of my predecessors in this respect. I wish very much I could emulate some of the very learned and able addresses which I have read, delivered by them on occasions such as the present. But I feel that it is really beyond my power; and I do not wish to essay anything in which I know that I should fail. If I were to attempt to address the eminent body whom I unworthily represent, upon the subject of their peculiar study, I should run the risk of being as ridiculous as the sophist who gave a lecture on the art of war to the celebrated general Hannibal. As I do not wish to expose myself by attempting that which I am incompetent to perform, I shall endeavour in my few

remarks to confine myself as much as possible to the humbler province of introducing the Association to my own county, and of introducing my own county to the Association ; and if I do venture to touch upon matters antiquarian or archaeological, I beg to assure the experts that I do so, not for the purpose of offering any remarks that may enlighten ; but rather to shew them what is the depth of ignorance which they have to penetrate and dispel by coming amongst us, and that I look upon myself, and request them to look upon me, in the light of what has been called by an eminent statesman, in a saying which doubtless many of you are familiar with—a foolometer. By seeing the depth of my ignorance they may gauge the necessity for enlightening us upon these interesting topics. I introduce the society to you, my fellow Devonians and Exonians ; and I do so in the perfect confidence that you will feel great pleasure, and will derive great profit, from following these eminent men in the investigations which they are about to make in different parts of the county. I feel sure that the observations which they will make in your presence will open your eyes to many things which you have probably been in the habit of passing unregarded from day to day, and will open out to you new sources of interest which, perhaps, you hardly conceived were within your grasp. And I introduce my own county, and this picturesque and ancient city, to the Association, in the full and confident hope that they will find them not less rich in the materials of archaeological lore than any other county or any other city which they have been heretofore in the habit of visiting. There is only one danger against which I must warn them : they must not allow themselves to be too much led away by the beauties of nature from the pursuit of those peculiar objects which they come to seek ; for I must warn them, if they are not aware of it, that they are going, as I see by the programme, to visit objects of interest in the midst of most lovely scenery, and they must take care not to allow the scenery to interfere too much with the archaeological curiosities they are going to seek.

It does not require that we should be very deep archaeologists ourselves to enjoy an archaeological gathering like the present. The truth is, that this science is one of the most natural, and, I think I may say, one of the most rational, that men can engage in. We are naturally curious to know

how it is that we find ourselves in the position in which we are: and it is impossible that we can understand rightly what we are unless we know how it is that we have come to be that which we are. We find that we have stepped into a rich inheritance, like the people of Israel who entered into a land full of treasures which they had not collected. We find that our forefathers have collected for us that which adds to the enjoyment and the interest of life; and beyond that, we find ourselves continually adding to, and improving and advancing upon, that which they have left us. That, it appears to me, is what distinguishes men from the brute creation. I have always thought one of the most interesting definitions of man was that which represents him to be a being looking forward and backward, not looking merely to that which is around him, but considering the progress that he has made, or that his forefathers have made, and what progress he is himself called on to make. It is that which distinguishes man's works from the wonderful works done by animal instinct. If we look at the works of animals, at the works of the brute creation, we find that beavers construct their houses, that birds build their nests, and that other animals perform their different works precisely as they have done from the beginning of the world. But we are continually advancing; leaving behind us that which was done for us by our ancestors, and advancing from it to something which we shall hand down to posterity. It is because archaeology is the science which leads us to appreciate this progress, which leads us to see and know what was done by our ancestors, and therefore points out to us the work we are to carry on for the benefit of posterity, that it is a noble and interesting and elevating science. Let me ask you, in illustration of what I have said, to try to conceive the different kinds of discoveries that an archaeologist would make in countries differently circumstanced in respect of progress. Suppose that you make archaeological inquiries in a country which has been for a number of years in a stationary condition,—such, for instance, as the great empire of China,—consider what the nature of your archaeological discoveries would be. Very probably you would there find exactly that which is in daily use in our own day, only a little more mouldy and moth-eaten and sullied and defaced by time. Then take the case of countries which have been the seats of

great empires, where the highest civilization has been attained in former times, but where there has been since a decay and relapse into barbarism. Witness Nineveh and Babylon and Asia Minor, and consider what a melancholy state of things it is when you find amongst a people now barbarous the relics of bygone civilization; traces of the decay of morality, and the decay of power, amongst a people once so favoured. Contrast with these two such a country as our own, in which you have a progressive state, in which you look back to a state of things which causes you neither to blush for your ancestors, nor to blush for yourselves in respect of your improvements upon your ancestors; a country where you are able to look back through a long vista of improvements gradually progressing and developing into the more perfect state in which you now find yourselves, and which at the same time affords you lessons of encouragement and lessons of humility. I say that all these are the kinds of lessons that you may gather from the archaeological studies to which we invite you. I am quite certain that these studies are to be found not only attractive in detail, but that they are interesting in the larger view which moralists would naturally take,—that they should not be regarded as a mere pastime of the moment, but should be looked upon as a serious and important branch of human study. Archaeology is one of the tributaries of history. It is one of our greatest objects to throw light, by the investigations we are able to make, upon the history of human progress.

We find in such a country as I have described,—a country in a continually progressive state,—archaeological relics of two different kinds. You will find some remains which are so old, which belong to a time so far bygone, that they excite in us little else than wonder. You find others which carry us on continuously up to the present day, and seem to have a more living and present interest for us. Of both of these we have specimens in this county. We have specimens upon Dartmoor of the old remains of a by-gone time, upon which we may exhaust ourselves in speculation, but which do not seem to touch us with anything like present and living interest. On the other hand, we have in every town, in every old church, sometimes in our old houses, and even by the way-side, memorials of times

more or less remote, but still with which we seem to feel that we have a connexion. In both these classes of memorials there is an interest; but it is a different kind of interest which we have to awaken in the one and in the other. I venture to say that the county of Devon furnishes the archaeologist with very important and very interesting classes of study; for here it is, if anywhere, that we are to look for the earliest traces of the original inhabitants of this land of Britain. Here in this south-west corner of England, if there are any traces to be found of the earliest inhabitants of the country, we are to look for them. There can be no doubt that the earliest notices which can in any way be considered to apply to England in classical writings, have reference to the Scilly Isles,—probably to Cornwall, and if to Cornwall, probably also to the whole or great part of Devonshire. It appears that in days long before the time of the Roman conquest there were communications between the tin-producing districts,—the “tin islands” as they were called, the Scilly Isles and Cornwall and Devonshire,—and the eastern nations. We find that the Phœnicians and the Carthaginians traded with the Cassiterides, or tin islands. From all we can gather, it would seem that the tin islands referred to were the Scilly Islands and that portion of England which I have been speaking of. In a very old book, attributed to the poet Orpheus, describing the expedition of the Argonauts, and in the works of the father of history, Herodotus, we find references to communications between the ancient world and this part of England. I must not lay too much stress upon all the legends and traditions connected with the intercourse; but undoubtedly there are a great many circumstances, small in themselves yet all bearing in the same direction, which seem to point to a connexion between this south-west of England and an eastern origin. I dare say I should provoke a smile at my credulity if I referred to old legends about the original colonization of this country by Brutus and the Trojans who came with him. But the legend is worth some consideration. It says that some time after the destruction of Troy, Brutus, the grandson of Æneas, came with his followers and landed at Totnes. What is there peculiar about this? No doubt the story about Brutus and the Trojan descent was put afloat for the sake of getting a high and noble origin for the people

of Britain; but there is something remarkable in the chroniclers having fixed upon Totnes as the place to which the colony was supposed to have come. Totnes lies far up the Dart. Why should the expedition be brought to a place far up the river, and not to a point on the sea coast? That reminds us that Totnes was an ancient British town. No doubt it is a town of very high antiquity. It lies also conveniently for the trade of Dartmoor. And this chimes in with evidence we have that there was a connexion between eastern nations and the tin-producing districts of Dartmoor; for it is upon Dartmoor and the neighbourhood that you find remains of tin works, which appear to be of very high antiquity. That, I say, is one slight evidence which we have of the connexion between our people and the east.

Then, again, there are those records which are more authentic, and upon which we can rely, of the trade which sprang up between the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians with our own country. The Phoenicians preserved a strict monopoly of this trade. Herodotus says that the other nations were not able to discover where it was that this tin was brought from. We are told at a later period, that, when the Carthaginians, as a Phœnician colony, had got possession of the trade, they kept it so secret that the Romans, who endeavoured to ascertain where the metal came from, were unable to do so. Scipio the younger, who made inquiries, was told that the Gauls and others knew nothing of the district. There was a story current, and probably a true one, that a Carthaginian ship engaged in this traffic, being pursued by a Roman vessel, ran aground in order to prevent its track being discovered; and that the Carthaginian people were so pleased with the patriotism of this man, who had wrecked his vessel rather than let the secret be discovered, that by national contributions they made up the loss to him. Such matters are of interest because they directly bring to our minds one of those touches of nature which make the whole world akin. It is a specimen of that commercial jealousy which, from the very earliest ages of the world, has been found to prevail among commercial nations. The Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Venetians, the Dutch, all desired to preserve strict secrecy with regard to the sources whence their wealth was derived.

The secret so well kept by the Carthaginians, was after-



wards discovered by the Greeks, and at a later period by the Romans. But the identity of Britain with the Cassiterides could not have been discovered by the Romans before the invasion of Britain by Cæsar. As far as we can judge from history, it does not appear that Cæsar, when he invaded this country, was conscious that he had got into the great tin-producing land : because we are told that he believed, when he first came, he was invading a country full of wealth, and that afterwards he was disappointed. There are writings of Cicero in which he says the country was poor, and that it was a delusion to suppose there was anything to be found in it, especially silver, which there was great expectation of discovering. It does not seem that Cæsar got down to this south-western part. It was much later that the Romans came here; but we have some curious evidence on the part of other historians, especially Diodorus, that Damnonium, which comprised Devonshire and Cornwall, was a country already in communication with foreign parts; that it was more given to trade, and more civilized, and that its inhabitants were more hospitable people than the rest of the Britons. The Britons generally were savage, rude, and inhospitable; but these Damnonii were more polished and more civilized. It is, perhaps, one of the reasons that may account for there being fewer Roman remains to be found here, that there was less necessity for the Romans to plant themselves here in force in order to keep this part of the country in subjection; they were on more friendly terms with this part of the country than they were with some others.

These are evidences which we have of the early connexion of this part of the country with the navigators and commercial nations of the east. Then there are many other small evidences of the same connexion. Some of them may, perhaps, be fanciful; others have something in them. We hope that those who come here with the power and the habit of testing and sifting evidence, will enable us to judge for ourselves how far these matters, which we have been taught to regard as more or less important, have any real worth. For instance, there is the evidence of names. Polwhele, who is perhaps our best local historian, traces a Phœnician origin in everything,—in names, in places, in everything to be found in the west of England; and we should like to know how far there is any truth in the analogies which he discovers;

because we do know that the science of etymology, the comparison of one language with another, often affords the means of ascertaining the connection between one people and another. I should be glad to know if there is any truth in the origin which he ascribes to the names Hartland Point, Start Point, Belston, and others, which he supposes to contain traces of Phoenician worship ; Start Point referring to Astarte, Hartland Point to Hercules, and Belston to Belus. He speaks of double pillars at Hartland and Start Point, and connects them with the Phoenician worship of the sun and moon ; and with the celebrated Phœnician pillars of Hercules. We know that at Cadiz, a point to which the Phœnicians attained in Spain, there were two pillars—the two pillars of Hercules, one of the great landmarks of the ancient world. These were pillars connected no doubt with Phœnician worship. Polwhele supposes that there were two pillars at Hartland Point, and he speaks of there being the remains of such pillars at Start Point even now. I do not know whether such is the case ; but it is a matter for the curious to inquire into. He sees in these double pillars traces of the Phœnician worship having been introduced into this country. One would be glad to know how far there are traces of anything that is decidedly eastern, and that is not to be attributed to our neighbours, the Gauls. Then there are the remains of Druidical worship to be found on Dartmoor ; and we should be glad to know whether, on a comparison of these remains with others elsewhere, there is any such connection or difference between them that should lead us to suppose they were the work of one people rather than two. We should like to know whether the great work of Stonehenge all belonged to one period, or was placed there by two races ; and if so we should be glad to know to which period the Dartmoor works belong,—whether to the earlier or the later,—in what the difference consists, and whether it is of such a character as to lead us to suppose that one race was or was not eastern in its origin. Caesar mentions that there had been an invasion shortly before his time by the Belgæ from Gaul, who had driven the aboriginal inhabitants into the interior, and perhaps to the south-west. Looking to another point, we may ask who these aborigines were ? Were they people of eastern origin ? If not, are they to be considered people who had had an eastern impress

made upon them by communication with the Phœnicians ? You may put any number of things together in this kind of inquiry ; for archaeology is of all studies the one which seems to me the best described by Shakespeare's saying that

“Trifles light as air may be confirmation strong
As proofs of holy writ.”

You may find any number of small points, each insignificant, apparently absurd, if you take it by itself, yet if you put them together, compare them, collate them with what has been discovered in other parts of the country, they produce, by degrees, first doubt, then suspicion, and then a moral certainty which almost amounts to the strength of demonstration. One would be glad that all these things should be recorded ; that theories, however absurd in themselves, should be put forth and discussed, and everything that can be brought forward to support these theories be brought forth and stated, in order to determine what is really valuable and really true. Because there is this that is peculiar in this kind of study ; and it is, I really think, an indication that archaeology may be made a very fine and noble training for the intellectual powers and for the judgment of man—that you have to combine such different qualities in order to make a perfect archaeologist. You require not only a great amount of knowledge ; that, I am aware, is essential, with a great amount of industry, necessary in all studies, but you require a combination of imagination and of judgment, of enthusiasm and of scepticism. You want two kinds of archaeologists—positive and negative. You want poets and you want critics. I do not believe you ever make discoveries, unless you make them with a view to some theory. A man lays down a theory, as Polwhele laid down his theory that we had a Phœnician origin ; and in order to make out his theory he collected with great enthusiasm every kind of proof he could accumulate, some very weak and shallow no doubt, but others, having, perhaps, something in them. At all events he collected a great number of facts, which he would otherwise have thought of little or no value ; and he collected them with interest, because he looked upon them as having an important bearing upon his theory. In that way you get facts together ; and then you want to bring to bear upon them

critical scepticism, blowing to the winds those which do not bear investigation. But if you had criticism only you never would discover anything. Invention and discovery after all are very closely related ; but you want to discover, you do not want to invent, and the great danger is lest discovery should run into invention, because some habits of mind will no doubt lead persons from one to the other. We must take great care that we neither repress and chill the discoverer, by throwing cold water, and looking with a smile upon his extravagancies ; nor, on the other hand, allow ourselves to be led away by those extravagancies. That is the great use of such societies as the present. They come down with a large accumulation of experience. They are able, in the first place, to do much service in the district by exciting an interest. They cannot themselves—it is utterly impossible in the short time they have—make any great amount of discoveries. But what they can do is this. They can excite in the minds of a large number who live on the spot an interest in the subject which they themselves take an interest in. They can set these people on the track of discovery, and then when discoveries, or supposed discoveries are made, the Association come from time to time to see how their disciples in the provinces are going on, reviewing the work, and ascertaining whether there is anything in all this matter collected, taking up the heap of sand and sifting it to see if there are a few grains of gold in it. So, in that way, by stimulating and criticising, they may do real service towards the collection of materials for a good history of our own county and our own locality. I am told that none of the histories we have of Devonshire and Exeter are worthy—I will not say worthy of the name of histories ; but, at all events, not such as we ought to have. They are not such as in the present state of the science, and with the present advantages we have, we ought to be content with. But what our friends who now come down are anxious we should do is, that we should set to work, each in his different locality, each as he is able, to make collections, to make inquiries, to excite an interest for the preservation of our ancient monuments, and for the discovery of those matters which are in danger of being lost and overwhelmed amongst us, and for the purpose of bringing these things together, in order that those who take a wider range, who look over a

greater extent of country and compare discoveries made in one part with discoveries made in another, may be able to ascertain the real histories of these matters. There are many of the points which I have glanced at that well deserve your attention. We know very well what service has been done by one who has been for some years removed from us—Mr. Rowe, of Crediton. The little book he published—the *Perambulation of Dartmoor*—is not only a useful handbook for tourists, but contains a great deal of curious information which I should be very sorry to see perish from amongst us—a book which may live for ages and contribute its part to the materials which we hope to collect for a county history. And consider what others of you may do. When one looks at the collection in this room and sees the records of old monuments which have been removed—records of places taken away in the necessary course of improvement—one perceives how much you could do by securing drawings of various antiquities which still remain, to be circulated in other parts of the country, and used also as records in case those things should be destroyed. Let me also remind you how important an aid photography is to archaeology; for with the greatest ease you are now enabled to preserve accurate recollections of those monuments, whether of art or of nature, which you feel an interest in. It is really throwing away this great machine, this great power put into your hands, unless you make some use of it, for so very interesting a purpose as the preservation of accurate records of monuments, all of which are gradually decaying, while some of them may perish by accident or disappear in the course of improvements. Again, there is another class of antiquities which you may assist in preserving, which perishes very easily, and which the march of civilisation has a tendency to efface—I mean old language, old words, old expressions, old customs, old superstitions even, everything that can connect us with the manners and customs of our early ancestors. For instance, how little is preserved of the old Cornish language! There we had, probably, the oldest language spoken in England; there we possessed the materials for tracing whether there were any truth or not in the supposed connection between Cornwall and the Eastern nations. A great deal that has been allowed to perish there might have been preserved;

and what one hopes is that that which still remains may be preserved with a view to the collection of such materials as I have suggested.

I will not venture to go into the various questions which Polwhele raises with regard to the Druidical remains on Dartmoor. I am happy to find that the Association are going to pay a visit to that locality, and that a most interesting and valuable paper, by sir Gardner Wilkinson, upon that very extraordinary district will be read in the course of the proceedings. I feel, therefore, quite satisfied that we shall have the matter thoroughly exhausted, and it would be wasting your time if I were to offer any observations upon it. Only let me say first, as I have expressed the hope that you will not be led away by the beauty of the scenery in other parts of the county, so now let me wish that when you are upon Dartmoor you may have clear weather, for if there should be a mist it is very little that you will see. Secondly, it is obvious to all that we must be on our guard, in visiting such places, not to confound the curious formations of nature with works of the Druids. No doubt, as was said by one of our writers, Dartmoor is a natural Druidical temple,—one great mass of logan stones and rock idols, and pillars and basins; and it requires the critical faculty to consider how much of this is natural, and how much artificial. Though, again, it does not follow from these rocks being natural that they were not used by the Druids as their place of worship. But we must neither be ready to take a natural rock as an artificial idol, nor, on the other hand, entirely to disregard any tradition which connects the natural rock with some Druidical ceremonies. There is no doubt that in these stones and collections much will be found to remind you of what were the habits of the earlier and eastern nations—much to remind you in these monumental pillars and cairns and stones, of the Jews, and of the records of the Old Testament, where we read of the pillars of Jacob and Laban, and the pillars put up by the Israelites when they crossed the Jordan, and many others, which will readily occur to you. No doubt, if the Phœnicians did impress upon our early ancestors any of their own system of worship we may expect to find on Belston and such places stones to the memory or for the worship of the god Belus, or some other of the Phœnician deities.

But upon all these points you will exercise strict inquiry. I must apologise for having ventured so far into the matter. In opening the subject as one of interest, it is rather for the purpose of exciting those among you who do not know Dartmoor, to go and see for yourselves, than to venture to suggest any theory.

Even upon Dartmoor, though I said it was chiefly a place connected with the archaeology of wonder, even there we find a good deal of human interest—an interest of a much more modern kind than that which relates to Druidical remains. There is that curious place, Crockern Tor. It is a place in which we have a more general interest, because there the Stannary parliaments were held. This opens up a curious chapter of history. They were parliaments that used to meet in the open air, in this wild spot, many miles from any town. There was the judge's chair, with the steps to go up to it, a good deal destroyed of late years. Then, there was a cellar underneath, in which the parliament used to keep their wine, a sort of refreshment room for the occasion. There they used to meet and hold their parliament and make laws for the Stannaries, that is, for the tinners. Representatives were sent from four towns in Devonshire, Chagford, Ashburton, Tavistock, and Lydford—we do not know of any Cornish mines being represented—and they held their Stannary parliament on Crockern Tor. A most interesting chapter in the history of Devonshire might be devoted to these Stannary Courts, and to the history of the tin trade, which must form a prominent feature in any such work. The tin trade carries us back, as we have seen, to the time of the Carthaginian intercourse; and coming down to later times, we meet with charters of king John respecting the privileges of the duchy of Cornwall, and of Richard, king of the Romans, first duke of Cornwall. Then there were disputes between the clergy and the dukes of Cornwall with reference to some questions at issue between them. Altogether you would find it a most interesting chapter, illustrating English history below the surface of affairs from the time of king John even to the present, because the Stannary courts still form an anomalous and abnormal feature in our system. The manner in which the tinners exercised their powers at these Stannary parliaments was very remarkable. There is a curious statute passed by

them in the time of Henry VII, when Arthur, eldest son of Henry, was duke of Cornwall. The statute as given by Mr. Rowe is very curious. It contains a variety of provisions, one of which is to exclude all persons from owning mines who were possessed of £10 a-year; also all clergy and officials of the duchy. Another very singular clause prohibited all persons learned in the law from practising in the Stannary court. Mr. Rowe apparently does not approve of that clause. He speaks of it as strong evidence that it was a *parliamentum indoctum*. Whether it was altogether wise or unwise to prohibit the lawyers from practising in these courts one hardly knows. But at all events, it connects itself with other matters, with regard to which there can be no question. You have all heard of Lydford law. Lydford, which was the old prison for the Stannaries, seems to have been a very wretched place.

“We oft have heard of Lydford law,
Where in the morn they hang and draw,
And sit in judgment after.”

Lydford appears to have been a place very much abused. Even in Edward III's time, petitions were presented against the system by which debtors imprisoned in Lydford Castle were kept there ten years. The gaol delivery being only once in ten years, it was a serious kind of imprisonment. Shortly after the time of the statute I have mentioned, the Stannaries parliament actually ventured to encroach upon the privileges of the House of Commons. We are told that Mr. Strode, of Newnham, member for Plympton Erle, having exerted himself in parliament to prevent the tin miners from blocking up the harbours with their streaming, the tinners proceeded against him for some imaginary breach of the Stannary laws, threw him into Lydford gaol, and kept him there for some time. The result was that parliament was obliged to interfere, and a statute was passed crippling and limiting the power of the Stannary parliaments for the future. These I mention as instances of the curious circumstances which you may bring to light by a good history of the Stannaries, including this place at Lydford, and other matters connected with it. And here I may observe that I understand we, in this county, though not very rich in stone works, buildings, and so forth, of great antiquity, have



one great treasure in a good collection of records, especially in Exeter. I am told that Exeter is very rich in records ; and certainly the inhabitants ought to take steps for collecting, publishing, and making them known for the good of the city. Possibly among other records might be found some bearing upon this question of the Stannary parliaments. There is one other point. I have said there are many things of interest on Dartmoor. There is one in particular. In other parts of England you find better remains of religious buildings, but one thing on Dartmoor is very interesting and very peculiar—that is, the remains of the old huts, the habitations of the early Britons. You find at Grimsound walled enclosures, containing circular foundations of huts. Nothing remains but the foundations, but these undoubtedly appear to have been the huts of the early Britons. It is interesting when you consider that you have there the earliest habitations known to exist in this country. The poet of the moor, Carrington, says :—

“The moor boasts not
The rich Corinthian colonnade, superb
In ruin, nor the mould’ring temple still
The wonder of the nations. Yet even here
Man—rude, untutored man—has lived, and left
Rough traces of existence. Let me pause
Among these roofless huts, these feeble walls
Thus solitary, thus decayed, amid
The silent flight of ages. In these once
The fierce Danmonii dwelt.”

Here, then, we have the remains of our very earliest ancestors. We find nothing but stone foundations, nothing of the superstructure. Perhaps the superstructure was of less permanent material than the foundation ; if so, then comes the question what could it have been ?

That leads me to mention the name of another departed friend, Mr. Richard Ford. You remember his very interesting article upon “Cob Walls.” There is a great deal of learning in the article, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* twenty years ago. It may have faded from the memory of some, but it is quite worth while to refresh your recollection of it. He traces the origin of cob to the very earliest times ; and he traces it, curiously enough, from the

Phœnicians along both sides of the Mediterranean sea, to Carthage and to Spain ; and then he brings it over, leaps over, from the pillars of Hercules to the south-west of England. One does not know very much of it ; but still these are so many straws, all seeming to set one way. Here there certainly does seem some reason to suppose that this institution (for it is really a county institution) of cob walls may have come to us from these same people, the Phœnicians. If we go further into this matter we find other things that may appear too trifling to mention, but which still suggest the idea that there is something of an eastern origin in many of our practices. There is one matter which, under any circumstances, I recommend our visitors to make themselves acquainted with, whether it is of Phœnician antiquity or not—I mean our clouted cream. It is a very good thing in itself ; therefore they will not be doing any harm in investigating it rather carefully. But it is said that clouted cream is to be found nowhere except in the West of England and in the neighbourhood of Tyre. There are some curious little circumstances connected with it. We know the old name of cheese, which appears to have been something like compressed milk, is *τυρός* or Tyre; and again, butter, *βούτυρον*, which is a compound of *Bous* and *Tyros*. Then, in the composition of the stuff which they make in India, ghee, they put in sour milk, called “tyre.” A description is given in one of the ancient writers, Pliny, I think, of the way of making butter,, and of a substance which he calls oxygala, a very close relative of clouted cream. He mentions that butter was not originally known to the Greeks or Romans, who acquired it from the barbarous nations. According to his description, the ancients made oxygala exactly in the way that we make clouted cream, by warming the milk over the fire. So there are two or three little matters which seem to connect Tyre and its neighbourhood with the clouted cream of Devonshire. Then there is another matter one may mention. I believe there have been discovered, in some old barrows, especially on Haldon, remains of pottery, some of which have had a resemblance to Eastern pottery ; and, among other things, remains of glass and glass beads. Now glass was one of the earliest manufactures of Tyre ; and here again is one of those little indications which seem to connect us with eastern nations. I dare say half these

things are worth nothing ; but they still seem to tend one way. One feels a sort of revolt at the sweeping manner in which Gibbon, in his history, disposes of all these stories of Eastern origin. He says the common sense of his age was content to see in Britain the colony of the Gauls ; that this country was colonised only by the Gauls. And a glance at the map shows that that is the way in which it should be naturally colonised. But at least it is worth while to consider whether there are not sufficient grounds for reviewing this opinion, and considering whether there may not be something more in the eastern origin attributed to us.

There are undoubtedly other grounds of interest which we have in this county. But I may mention one in which I think we cannot help feeling sympathy ; and it is this ; that this south-west corner of England has been the corner in which, in so many of our great national revolutions, the oppressed and conquered people have found a last refuge to betake themselves. It was long before the Britons were expelled from this part of the country. For the first century of the Saxon dominion, when they were Pagans, it was here in Exeter and the western portion of Devon, that the Christians, and especially the clergy, appear to have found refuge. It is said by one of the old historians, that for more than a century Exeter was known by the name of Monkton, as a place occupied by many monks. That is stated by one of our antiquaries, Hoker. Whether it can be confirmed or not I do not know ; but it appears there were a very large number of old British monks who took refuge in this city and neighbourhood, especially at Crediton, from the persecution of the Pagan Saxons. Of the early British church, and of the church subsequent to the conversion of the Saxons, you will still find traces in Devonshire. At a later period, when the Normans swept over the country, Githa, mother of Harold, took refuge here after the battle of Hastings. It was some time before the Normans conquered Exeter, and the account of their taking it stands much to our credit. The inhabitants offered a gallant resistance, and the terms obtained were very much superior to those granted by the Normans anywhere else. Whether, as is stated by some, the castle of Rougemont existed before that time, and merely changed gates in token of its submission ; or whether the castle was built then from the ruins of

the houses destroyed, is a question upon which I cannot offer an opinion. But it is interesting to know what the date of the castle is ; and no doubt we shall have considerable light thrown upon it in the course of the present visit. This at least we know, that the Normans were obliged to bridle the county with castles; at Totnes, Berry Pomeroy, Dartmouth, Plympton, and other places, especially at points commanding the rivers. These, then, were two great waves of conquest that passed over England, in which the national party found refuge in this part of the country. One cannot therefore help feeling that there is a special interest in this county as being the last refuge of liberty and national spirit. There has been no other invasion similar to these ; but there has been more than one occasion upon which Exeter has shown its loyalty to the sovereign, and earned its motto of " Semper Fidelis," and a further occasion on which they offered the rite of hospitality to the queen of Charles I, as afore-time to the mother of Harold. It was here that queen Henrietta Maria, during the middle of the great troubles, came to be confined, and gave birth to the princess whose baptism is always commemorated by that font which we have preserved in the cathedral. Here, in the west of England, almost the last stand was made by Devonshire and Cornwall men—sir Bevil Grenville, sir R. Hopton, and others—in behalf of king Charles. It was from this county that the restorer of the monarchy, Monk, duke of Albemarle, came.

There is another period of history to which we may turn with even more pride and interest—that is the reign of Elizabeth, when Devonshire produced those great worthies, Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Gilbert, who maintained the supremacy of England on the seas, and hurled back the naval power of Spain. You may almost fancy that the heroes of early times were reproducing themselves, and found a parallel in these men. When you see Drake going forth from Plymouth to contend with the gigantic power of Spain, it almost reminds you of the feats of Corineus in hurling down Gogmagog from the Plymouth cliff. Raleigh's setting out from the *Dart* to colonise the West, almost brings back to us the landing in the *Dart* of our supposed colonisers from the East. We find remains of these great men still amongst us ; and the remains possess for us a human interest. At the old house at Fardell,

so much occupied by sir Walter Raleigh, we have monuments of him. Of Gilbert we have relics at Compton. Plymouth possesses records of Drake; if in nothing else, at least in the waterworks which he brought into the town; and in North Devon are remains of sir Bevil Grenville. So that everywhere there are traces of those men who made Devonshire celebrated in that day and gained for it a proud position. Side by side with your antiquarian researches, look about and see whether there are not traces of these heroes to be found. And remember when you are treading upon this soil you may perhaps be appropriately addressed in the words of that noble epitaph put up by the prince de Condé over his adversary, the count de Mercy—"Siste viator, heroem calcas?" "Stop, traveller! you are treading upon the dust of a hero." In many places you will be treading upon the dust of heroes. Remember what we have to be proud of. I trust there is no Devonshire man who will not do his part to preserve the records of his ancestors, as something to which he may turn, to which he may point, and which may be an encouragement to his children after him to persevere in the course so well marked out by them.

You have missed a great many opportunities, in this city, of forming a good museum of antiquities. I am sorry to say there are very few things left amongst us: they have gone elsewhere. I was asked to get the Department of Science and Art to send us down the panelling of an old room in Exeter, of which they have obtained possession, and which would undoubtedly have been a beautiful ornament on the present occasion. But they were not able to spare it. We ought never to have let such a thing go. We ought to have had it. Here one of our vice-presidents, Mr. Pettigrew, comes down and flourishes in our faces a number of penates which he has picked up, and which belong to Exeter,—our own household gods. I suppose we should not be justified in laying violent hands upon them: we must not violate the first principle of morality. But look at them, and blush that you let them go from Exeter. They are very curious remains of the old Romans in Exeter, and they have gone to London. It is rather late, perhaps, to begin. It is like asking you to shut the stable door after the steed is stolen. Still it is never too late to mend. We may be able hereafter to discover other remains. There are a few still

in our neighbourhood, in the possession of societies connected with us, which might, perhaps, form the nucleus of such a museum. If there were a proper museum, a proper place of deposit, you would find that many persons would come forward and make gifts to add to that collection. Of course the whole interest of a collection depends upon its being a collection. There is very little interest in one man having an old brass pot in his drawingroom, and another a few coins in his bureau, when compared with that of seeing all those things placed together in connexion one with the other. But, at the same time, all honour to those who keep these things in their own rooms, and preserve them somehow. No doubt the spirit which led them to preserve them under difficulties, will, as soon as a proper museum is ready, induce them to come voluntarily forward and place them where they will be a credit to the town and the neighbourhood. But I do not feel that I ought to say much more upon this matter. Perhaps you will think that I have done it rather with an eye to business, and that I am taking an unfair advantage in urging you to set on foot such a museum. At the same time, if these meetings are good for anything, we must try to make them practical. We ought to commemorate them in some way; and I hope the result of the Association's visit to Exeter will be that something will be done here to establish a museum, to arrange for the collecting of information, and to organize also a system for preserving the records of our old monuments by photographic and other means. Then we shall be able to say honestly that the visit has not been in vain. Our friends will go back to London, not finding us quite so uncivilized as in the centre of England we may possibly be supposed to be; and they will be encouraged to come here again, and to tell us how they can report of our progress since their last visit.

BRITISH REMAINS ON DARTMOOR.

BY SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.

IN most countries noticed in ancient history we still find traces of the early inhabitants; and the monuments which remain enable us to form some idea of their customs and their mode of life.

Sometimes, indeed, these records of the past are scanty and imperfect; and this may cease to surprise us, when we remember that one people, most noted for their industrial prosperity, and for the extent of their colonization and commercial enterprise—the Phoenicians—have not left a single monumental record, by which their former greatness could even be surmised; and so few vestiges remain of their public or private works that, were it not for some sepulchral *cippi* and inscriptions, and the evidence of sacred and profane history, we should scarcely know of the existence of that remarkable nation.

It is therefore satisfactory to find some records of our own early ancestors still existing in this country; and though not of any excellence in an architectural point of view, they afford us some notion of the abodes, as well as of the sepulchres, of the Britons, of their rude masonry, of their skill in raising ponderous stones, and of the success they had acquired in fortifying their camps before the Romans entirely subdued the manly spirit of that brave people.

These records occur in many parts of our island, particularly in the mountain districts; but in a hilly country of great extent it was often thought sufficient to defend the outskirts, and to prevent the passage of an invader through its valleys; and we therefore find that the strongest camps of Dartmoor are on the side most exposed to attack from the valley of the Exe, and the lower part of the Teign, and Dart; the rest being thought sufficiently secure, from the nature of the ground, and from the little temptation offered to marauders by its wild and barren aspect. This character of the country enabled the Damnonian Britons long to enjoy their freedom; and though the Anglo-Saxon monarchs had possession of Devonshire, and extended their dominion to the Tamar (which was made

by Athelstan its western boundary, separating it from Cornwall), the inhabitants of the Dartmoor hills retained a greater degree of independence than any people within the southern part of the kingdom, and displayed the same dislike of Saxon rule as in the days when they joined the Danes in their inroads from the coast. And even when the district had been subjected to English rule and some of the inhabitants had been slaughtered or driven from it, those who dwelt, or took refuge, in the secluded parts of that wild country, long preserved their liberty and many of the early customs of their ancestors.

The name *Damnonii*, *Dumnonii*, or *Danmonii*, which was applied by the Romans to the people of Devonshire, and also to some of the mountaineers of Somersetshire, and to those of Cornwall, is, like the word "Devon," derived either from *Dwfn-neynt*, "deep valleys," or from *Dan-y-mynydd*, "under the mountains;" but though the latter would well apply to this region, it must be confessed that *Dwfn* is more readily converted into *Dunn* and *Devon*.

The formation of large roads over the hilly country of Dartmoor has long since altered its ancient character, and deprived it of that appearance of seclusion, and that difficulty of access, for which it was once so remarkable; but any one who, leaving the high road, wanders amidst the hills on either side, may still form an idea of the previous aspect of that inhospitable region, and of its natural strength against hostile intrusion. This security, while it enabled the early Britons to dispense with numerous camps on Dartmoor, induced them to choose it as a favourable locality for their most sacred monuments; and circles, cromlechs, and other highly venerated remains abound in this secluded district. Many of these might even be visited in an excursion from Exeter, provided one or more nights were passed at some of the small, but not uncomfortable inns, of Dartmoor; but before I mention the antiquities, or the order in which they might be visited, I shall offer some remarks on the classification and character of British remains.

They may be classified under the following heads:

- i. The sacred circle.
- ii. The circle-carn, and concentric-circle, and the *carn* or heap of stones, etc.

- III. The barrow, tumulus, the Celtic *crug* or mound, and the Saxon *Low*.
- IV. The kist, or *cist-vaen* ("stone chest").
- V. The avenue, or parallelithon.
- VI. The cromlech.
- VII. The *Maen-hir*, or "long stone."
- VIII. The *tolmen*, or *maen-an-tol* ("holed stone").
- IX. The *logan*, or "rocking stone."
- X. The rock idol.
- XI. The rock basin.
- XII. The markings and concentric rings on stones.
- XIII. The hut-circle, domed and bee-hive hut.
- XIV. The walled village and pound.
- XV. The boundary line.
- XVI. Roads.
- XVII. Bridges.
- XVIII. Camps and other military defences.

I. Of the sacred circle the most noted examples are, Stonehenge; Abury; Stanton Drew; Long Meg and her daughters, near Penrith; the Keswick circle; Arbor Lowe; the Scorhill or Gidleigh circle, the Greywethers, and Fernworthy, and that near Merivale bridge, on Dartmoor; the *dauns* or *dunse-muen* (or the Merry Maidens) near Bolleit, that of Boscawen-ûn, the Nine Maidens near Boskednan, and the three circles called the Hurlers, in Cornwall; that called Rollditch, Rolldrich,¹ or Rollbright, in Oxfordshire; the Devil's Arrows, in Yorkshire; and the hoar stones in Shropshire; the circles of Addington, near the Medway in Kent; of Hathersage moor, in Derbyshire; and others, in England; and in Scotland, one near Calendar and Dunkeld; and another near Inverness called the Clachan;² that of Classernich or Callernish, in the Hebrides; and the four circles of Stennis, in the Orkneys; and in Wales, one near Whitland Abbey, Caermarthenshire; and that of Rhosmaen in Radnorshire; with many others.

Stonehenge is too well-known to need any detailed description; I must, however, beg to differ from those who think it was erected after Roman times, at "the end of the fifth century," and that the Britons learnt from the Romans a style of building with large stones, which was never

¹ Abury is also called Rolldich by the peasantry.

² "Stones," v. p. 29.

adopted by this people. Nor can I admit that the outer circle of Stonehenge is composed of forty stones, when it is evident that it had only thirty (or at most thirty-one); and as there is every appearance of the rude stones of the inner circle (which were originally fifty-six or fifty-seven) being older than the more finished ones of the outer circle, I cannot consider them “votive stones added *after* the original design was completed.” Their earlier date is sufficiently evident from the difficulty experienced in making the truncated ellipse of the later “trilithons,” in the centre of the circle, accord with the position of the inner ellipse, which is composed of the smaller and older stones;¹ for these last, had they been placed there at a later period, would have been so disposed as to suit the position of their larger neighbours. Nor can I believe that the Druids were only found in the Isle of Anglesea, because “no classical or *native* authors mention having met with Druids in this island out of that one locality;” nor that an explanation of the form of “the inner choir of Stonehenge” is to be obtained by turning “the lamp of Indian Buddhism on these hitherto mysterious arrangements,” and by “comparing it with the numerous examples of choirs in all Buddhist churches;” and still less can I believe that “Buddhism, in some shape or other, or under some name that may be lost, did exist in Britain before the conversion of its inhabitants to Christianity.”

The diameter of Stonehenge, north and south, is 96 feet 6 inches inside, and 106 feet to the external face of the stones; that of the smaller inner circle about 80 feet. It stands on an area of about 340 feet in diameter, enclosed by a low mound, with a long avenue leading to it from the east.

Abury is of much larger dimensions, the diameter of its circle being 1080 feet; and the platform on which this stands has an average diameter of about 1130 feet, surrounded by a deep ditch and a lofty vallum, which extends the total diameter to 1440 feet. Within the great circle are two others, each 330 feet in diameter; and in the centre of one of these are large upright blocks,

¹ It is possible that those behind what is called the altar (one of which has a longitudinal groove running up it) may have been substituted for older stones of the inner ellipse.



very similar to those of the circle itself, which are supposed to have been a sanctuary.

At Stanton Drew, the largest circle is 380 feet by 347 feet in diameter (measuring from the centre of the stones); the next is 130 feet, and the smallest circle about 96 ft.

At Arbor Lowe, the inner platform is 167 feet in diameter, and the circle itself about 123 feet, the stones having fallen very irregularly.

The circle of Gidleigh, on Dartmoor, has a diameter of 88 feet; and that near the avenues, above Merivale bridge, measures 60 to 65 feet.

The three called the “Hurlers,” which stand in a line, one behind the other, are respectively about 100 feet, 124 feet, and 103 feet in diameter; and the great circle of Stennis, in Orkney, which consists of large stones, varying from 13 feet 9 inches to about 6 feet above the ground, is about 340 feet in diameter, and stands on a platform about 366 feet in diameter, surrounded by a fosse. There are many others in various parts of England, Scotland, and Wales; but those here mentioned will suffice to show the general size of the so-called sacred circles.

That called the “nine ladies,” on Stanton Moor, in Derbyshire, has a diameter of about 36 feet, and another at Throwlsworthy, on Dartmoor, measures 23 feet; but these two do not properly come under the denomination of sacred circles; and, as I shall have occasion to observe, are probably sepulchral, like the circles surrounding cairns and subterranean chambers. If it is true that the French call circles “cromlechs,” the name may have been originally applied to them from their frequently surrounding tumuli which enclose within them cairns, cists, cromlechs, or subterranean chambers; and the term *dolmen*, “stone-table,” given by the French to cromlechs, as well as to large sepulchral chambers above ground, is not inconsistent with the form of either of these monuments.

Many, indeed, are of opinion that all the so-called sacred circles are sepulchral monuments, whatever may be their dimensions or arrangements. This may, however, be doubted. For even if we find interments within them, this fact does not decide the question; since it has been a common custom in many countries to bury the

dead within the precincts of buildings used for worship. (See below, on the avenue, in class v.) Some have supported that opinion, by the assertion that the Britons never had temples ; that their religion forbade them to worship within a covered building ; that their prayers were always offered in the open air, and that no roof was permitted to interfere between the votary and his God. But the objection does not apply very suitably to a circle of stones, which had no roof, and which presented no more visible interference between the heavens and the priesthood, than the trees, beneath which they are said to have performed their sacred rites.

Indeed, we are actually told by ancient writers, that the inhabitants of our island, before the invasion of Cæsar, had temples ; which, whether roofed or no, would receive that name from strangers ; and Diodorus (ii, 47), on the authority of Hecataeus of Abdera, notices the *circular temple* (*vaos*) of the sun, with a beautiful grove, or sacred enclosure (*τεμένος*), and describes the harpers or bards, who chanted the praises of the god in that temple. The objection, then, to some kind of sacred enclosure or temple, may be easily removed ; and whether closed or open, it would, by the Greeks, have been equally designated as a *vaos*. And though other writers inform us that they worshipped in groves, and that the hostility of the Roman conquerors was directed against these, when they invaded that most sacred stronghold of Druidism, the Isle of Mona (Anglesea), there is no reason to conclude that the sacred grove was not separated from the surrounding space, or from the rest of the wood where they lived ;¹ and Cæsar says the Druids held assemblies, and pronounced legal decrees and judgments in the same consecrated place.² It can scarcely be supposed that the limits of the holy spot, where they offered prayer or sacrifice, and pronounced judgment, was not defined by some durable boundary, such as a circle of stones, to indicate its sanctity and to prevent the intrusion of the profane ; and the same idea of a “sacred enclosure” has been retained from the earliest times to the present day, in

¹ “Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis.” . (Lucan, *Ph.* i, 356.)

² Cæs., *B. G.*, vi, 13.

a word of the same meaning, *Llan*, which was transferred to their churches by the Welsh, on the introduction of Christianity.

Nor can we always take the *early ordonnances* of a religion as a sure guide respecting the customs admitted into it at a later time. Even supposing (which it is not) that a circle of stones was opposed to the early British and Druidical idea of worshipping in the open air, this would not be conclusive evidence against its adoption at a later time. The Scandinavians are said to have abstained from all worship in temples; and the Eddas make the same remark as the Bible, that God dwelleth not in temples built by hands; and the old Icelandic religion, which forbade its followers to represent the supreme Deity under any corporeal form, or to confine him within the enclosure of walls, commanded them to worship him in woods and consecrated forests. Yet the Scandinavians had their stone buildings, circles, as well as cromlechs, and earns; and Iceland is as famed for its great temples, as Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.¹ The Israelites too, no longer satisfied with their tabernacle, built for the Deity a stone temple, like the nations that surrounded them. Even the Egyptians are said of old to have propitiated their gods simply with prayers and incense;²—a custom very different from that which obtained during all the periods when their religion and customs became known to us from the monuments; and if Vitruvius states (i, 2) that the temples of Jove, the sun, and moon, and some others, were “*sub dio, hypaethraque*,” it would be a great error to conclude that they were open like our circles. And though some future antiquary, judging from what he may read in the early history of Christianity, and from the fact that the Christians acknowledged the second commandment, forbidding man to make a graven image, and fall down before it, may be disposed to deny the possibility of images having been introduced into any Christian church for that purpose, it is not less a fact that they have been made for centuries, and have been treated like older pagan idols.

Nor, if such stone monuments were (as some have sup-

¹ V. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, pp. 89, 109, B. ed.

² Macrobius, *Saturn.*, i, c. 5. “*Nunquam fas fuit Aegyptiis peculibus aut sanguine, sed precibus et thure solo, placare deos.*”

posed) of a still earlier people than the Celtic-Gauls and Britons, is it probable that these two people, when first converted to Christianity,¹ would have constantly revered them; opposed, as they are said to have been, to their previous religious feelings, and belonging to an old people with whom they had no sympathies, or community of habits? Had they only possessed their sacred groves, and never felt any reverence for stone monuments, they would not have entertained superstitious feelings towards them; and yet we know that several severe prohibitions were issued against their "worship" by more than one council and royal edict, in the 4th and 5th centuries of our era; and the council of Nantes threatened severe penalties against those who venerated "lapides in ruinosis locis." Nor was this always sufficient; and it was found necessary to destroy and *bury* many of them, to prevent similar superstitious practices among the Christians of Gaul and Britain.² The well-known expression in the Highlands, on inquiring of any one whether he is going to church, "*am bhail thu dol do'n clachan?*" "*are you going to the stones?*" seems also to point to the old custom of treating stone monuments as places of meeting for a religious purpose.

The link, therefore, is not wanting between the Druids

¹ In our modern times, when some have wished to foster an antagonism of races, an attempt has been made to connect the Celtic tribes with the Papist, and the Anglo-Saxon with the Protestant creed, in this kingdom; but it is a shallow pretence; and of the five Celtic tribes, the Scotch, Irish, and Manx, the Welsh and Cornish, one only (the Irish) is Roman Catholic, the four others being decidedly Protestant. What the French may be, does not concern us. Moreover, it was the English who first introduced Popery into Ireland, as the Anglo-Saxons had before done into England; and the old British church continued to flourish in its purity, and independent of Rome, till the Anglo-Saxons, on their conversion by Augustin, persecuted the Celtic inhabitants of these islands, and at length supplanted the original form of worship so long established among that anti-papal race.

² I cannot subscribe to the opinion that the conversion of the Britons to Christianity would necessarily lead to the destruction of all the monuments of their former superstition. This is not confirmed by experience. The Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and other sacred monuments remain: many temples were actually converted into churches, (as Christian churches were adopted for *mosks* by those most bigoted people the Moslems and their converts); and the early mosaics and paintings of the Christians admitted heathen representations, as Charon, Orpheus, Cupids, the river god of the Jordan, and various emblems, into their own sacred subjects, if they happened to be thought suitable to them; and the basilica became a church merely because the temple was still occupied. I do not certainly wish that the Christians had destroyed more pagan monuments; but if some of them had adopted fewer of the superstitious customs of their predecessors, it would have been infinitely better, and priestcraft would not so long have triumphed over common sense.

and the stones; and as the superstitious feeling in favour of stone remains continued even after Christian time, it is only reasonable to conclude that these were not of a people whose religion had been supplanted by Druidism, but rather of one which had exchanged its older stone sanctuaries for the churches of its new creed. And while I perceive no difficulty in attributing them to our Celtic predecessors, and find no necessity for seeing in them the works of an earlier race who inhabited Britain and Gaul, I am still less disposed to assign to them a late date after the conquest of this island by the Romans.¹

The number of the stones or monoliths composing the circles varies considerably, as well as their height and dimensions. Some are eight feet in height, others in the same circle not more than three or four feet; a short one is often placed next to another nearly double its height; sometimes all the stones are about the same size and form; and in some circles they are placed nearly equidistant from each other; in others at very irregular intervals; and occasionally one stone outtops all the rest; but nowhere, except at Stonehenge, are they linked together by lintel-stones, requiring them to be of the same uniform height.

The statement of some antiquaries that they are (or should be) nineteen, or multiples of that number, is not confirmed by experience; nor is twelve a number "more frequently found than any other;" and they do not range in number "from twelve to thirty-seven." Mr. Rowe very properly rejects this latter assertion, and adds, "in some instances we found the number 27; but we also observed circles consisting of 25, 15, 12, 11, and even 10, the height of the stones above the surface ranging from $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet to 18 inches," those in the latter cases having "probably been mutilated." Indeed, we find the number ranges from 8 to about 78, the former in the Isle of Mull, the latter in the great circle of Abury. "The circumference," says Mr. Rowe, "varies from 36 to 360," which last he gives to "the Grey Wethers, the largest it is believed in Devonshire"; but as the diameters of its two circles are respectively 104 feet 6 inches by 105 feet, and 103 feet by 104 feet, their average circumference can only be 314 feet, or

¹ See my paper in this *Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 109-10.

at most 315 feet. The number of stones in the southern circle at the Grey Wethers was 27, of which 7 are still standing: of the northern, 9 are standing, 7 fallen, and the rest have disappeared in the swampy ground, or have been carried away; and both circles appear to have had about 24 or 25 when first erected. The height of the stones in both differs less than in many other circles, being from 2 feet 7 inches to 3 feet 10 inches broad, and about 4 feet to 4 feet 2 inches high (*above* the ground); and the *entire* height of the largest is from 6 feet to 6 feet 10 inches. Those of the Merrymaidens, near Bolleit in Cornwall, are also nearly of equal height, measuring from 3 feet 10 inches to 4 feet; and 16 of them are still standing, out of the original 19 or 20; for unless an unusually large space was left between two of them, the number must have exceeded 19. Mr. Edwards, however, who admits that one of the spaces had "nearly double the average interval," thinks that 19 was the original number; and some suppose that it was always customary to make one of the intervals much wider than the rest. This is very remarkable in a circle, described by Mr. Auldjo, in the Isle of Mull, standing in what is called "the field of the Druids." It has a diameter of 42 feet, and consists of 8 stones, placed at unequal distances, the intervals being 14 feet, 9 feet 2 inches, 15 feet, 13 feet 6 inches, 15 feet, 11 feet 6 inches, 14 feet, and 22 feet; but this last, if none has been taken from it, bears an unusual disproportion to the other intervals.¹ The stones measure from 3 to 4 feet in height above the ground, and at the distance of 118 feet to the west is a single long stone, rising about 9 feet above the ground, and a smaller one to the south 15 feet 6 inches from the circle. In the centre is no mound, and no appearance of a cairn or cist.

The number of the stones in the outer circle of Stonehenge was 30, and about 56 or 57 in the older inner circle, as I have already stated; but at Abury, the large circle may have consisted of 78 monoliths, of which 20 still remain. The smaller circle at Stanton-Drew is composed of 8 stones; the large circle has lost too many to enable us to ascertain its original number (it was probably about 38); and the third has 10 remaining out of 18, the original number, two of which are a little out of their place.

¹ V. Journal of the Arch. Institute, vol. v, p. 217.

That of Arbor Low has about 40 stones remaining, all fallen; but many of them are mere fragments, and may not have been separate stones: the largest is 13 feet long by 7 feet broad, and in the centre of the circle are two large blocks, thought to be remains of a cromlech or of an altar. The circle of Gidleigh, or Scorhill, has twenty-six now standing and six fallen, out of about 55, though the spaces vary too much to enable us to arrive at a satisfactory estimate of the real number. That near the avenues of Merivale bridge had originally 10, very nearly at equal intervals, of which 9 are now standing, the largest being only 1 foot 10 inches high, and 2 feet broad; and the circle of Boscowen-Un has 16 standing and 1 fallen, out of 18 or 19, the original number, many of which are about 4 feet high; and near the centre is an upright stone about 9 feet high, thought to belong to a cromlech, or a sanctuary. Of the Hurlers, no one of the three circles is sufficiently preserved to enable us to ascertain the original number of its stones. In the first, to the south, two only are standing, in the second ten, and in the third six; but the first and third may each have had about twenty-four, and the second about thirty or thirty-one.¹ I do not attempt to mention the number of stones which compose all the large circles in England, Scotland, and Wales; nor do I pretend to decide respecting the stones found in the centre of some of them. But I may observe that, besides the one just mentioned at Boscowen-Un, and those in Abury and Arbor Low, is an upright block in the circle of Callernish in the Hebrides (see below in class v.); in Stonchenge a large stone is placed flat on the ground; and the Giant's Ring, near Belfast, is said to have a "dolmen or altar in the centre."

With regard to the position of the circles, everyone will perceive that they do not occupy the highest point of the hill; they often stand near its summit, but are rather on the first slope than on the actual apex; and the same observation applies to cromlechs also, while cairns are frequently placed on the highest part. I have also observed that many sites of circles and other ancient monuments

¹ The curious intersecting circles of Botallak, in Cornwall, represented by Borlase in plate xvi. and that of Boskednan, near Sennor (*ib.*, pl. xv), no longer appear as in his time.

are now swampy, and almost inaccessible after wet weather, showing a great and unexpected change since the days of their erection.

Some have thought that the intervals or intercolumiations between the monoliths were filled with smaller stones, or earth; but this is disproved by the absence of any remains, or of a mound, indicative of such an arrangement, except in those of a decidedly sepulchral character, where the stones are frequently placed close together, round a tumulus or carn; and some circles in Jersey, about 21 feet in diameter, have smaller upright stones between the larger ones, covered by a slab forming a sort of recess, bearing some analogy to those in the ortholithic remains near Crendy in Malta, and the Isle of Gozo. But these require a separate examination, as do the cromlechs, avenues, longstones, and other megalithic and ortholithic remains in India, Malabar, Persia, Syria, Circassia, the Crimea, Minorca, Africa, and other countries. I shall only here observe that Mr. Rhind, in his interesting memoir on ortholithic remains in Africa (*Archæologia*, vol. 39), has enumerated the following: a circle near Tangiers, and other rude megaliths in Morocco, and in Algeria, near Zebdou, to the south of Tlemecen; a cromlech at Tiaret, one hundred miles from the sea, in Oran, the capstone of which measures 65 feet by 26 feet, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, raised 40 feet from the ground, with steps cut to ascend it, and three *basins* or square troughs cut upon its upper surface, the largest three feet on each side, and communicating with each other by channels four inches broad and of less depth than the basins. Some "longstones" are in the neighbourhood, still standing; and about twelve miles from Algiers, on the plateau of Bainam, is a great assemblage of cromlechs; and near Djelfa, several tombs composed of four slabs covered by one or two others, each surrounded by a single or double circle of rude stones, about nine inches high, in which district a stone celt has been found. At Sigus, near to Constantine, are other tombs, and in the same province some megaliths (*dolmens*); in Kabylia one or more cromlechs, and others in the regency of Tunis; and in the Zenzur district Dr. Barth speaks of a trilithon 10 feet high, with a lintel 6 feet 6 inches in length.

That the custom of placing stones in a circle was not confined to particular countries is evident from the remains found in different parts of the world. Moses is said to have built “an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel” (Exod. xxiv, 4); and Pausanias mentions a circle of stones near Cheimarrus,¹ and says the Thracians built their temples round, and open at the top; but it is by no means probable that these resembled the circles of Britain; nor do I perceive anything beyond a very usual custom of sitting in a circle (when assemblies were held in the open air), in the often quoted sentence of Homer (*Il.* xviii, 504)—

“Κύρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυνον· οἱ δὲ γέροντες
Εἶατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἵερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ.”

And even if our circles were used as places of assembly, the members did not certainly sit upon those very unpolished and uncomfortable monoliths, whence, in many cases, their voices would have been inaudible after all the trouble they had undergone in ascending them.

It is indeed an opinion of some eminent Welsh scholars that the “sacred circles” were places of assembly; and we may reasonably suppose that they were used as a place of judicial, as well as of religious meeting;² but there is nowhere any appearance of the stones in the form of chairs said to have been set up within the circle or place of assembly, nor any traces of the three “station stones” placed, the one to correspond with the eastern cardinal point, the other two to face the rising sun on the longest and shortest days, with a larger monolith in the centre of the circle, from which diverging lines could be drawn so as to point severally to the three “station stones,” as stated in the Iolo MSS. (p. 445).

Certain monoliths do remain outside the circle at Stonehenge, on the periphery of the enclosure that surrounds it; but radii drawn from the centre, or from the altar stone, to the points where the sun rises on the longest and

¹ Πλησίον δὲ αὐτού περιβολός ἐστι λίθων. (*Paus.*, ii. 36.)

² In the Isle of Man, three miles from Peel, is a circular mound of earth, about twelve feet high, ascended by a flight of steps cut into the turf on the east side, which, from its name, Tynwald,—answering to the Thingwall of Iceland, appears to have been a place of judicial assembly. It is surrounded by a ditch and rampart. But it differs from the circles of stones, which are also found in the Isle of Man, as at Glen-darragh.



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Fig. 8. *Black Star*



Fig. 9.

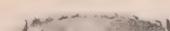


Fig. 10. *Black Star*

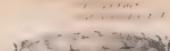


Fig. 11. *Black Star*



Fig. 12. *Black Star* and *Black Star* path



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

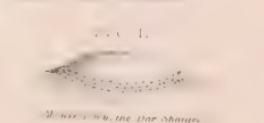


Fig. 16. *Black Star* part of an *Ammonite* shell

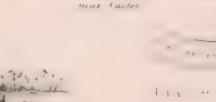


Fig. 17.

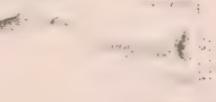


Fig. 18.



Fig. 19. *The Dark Shells*

shortest days, do not correspond with any of those stones. I had supposed that they marked the natural division of the circle by its radius, or sixty degrees, beginning from the east; but I since find that their position is not sufficiently accurate to verify this conjecture.

I shall now proceed to notice certain small circles, some of which are met with on Dartmoor. One of these is at Throwlsworthy Warren. (Plate 1, fig. 1.) It is only 23 feet in diameter, and probably consisted of twelve monoliths, of which eight only now remain. But though small, its importance is shown by the avenue or parallelithon which extends from it to the distance of 400 feet, and which, when entire, may have continued about 93 feet farther. At the distance of 283 feet from the circle the ground falls, and hence the avenue, making a slight bend to the right, from $213^{\circ} 35'$ to 215° (or an angle of $1^{\circ} 25'$), runs 78 feet, and then to $216^{\circ} 25'$ about 33 feet; but if it ran to the longstone, as some have imagined, which lies considerably to the right, it must have deviated still farther even from its last direction to $233^{\circ} 40'$, at an angle of about $17^{\circ} 35'$, to the distance of 117 feet. This, however, is far from probable, as the large stone forms part of a later wall, and may not occupy its original site. In this avenue the stones are of small size, though rather larger than in the avenues at Castor, and other parts of Dartmoor, some being 3 feet 3 inches in height; and at the distance of 197 feet from the circle is one of unusual size, being 5 feet in breadth, which has fallen across the avenue. Such occasional large stones are not unusual, but it is difficult to say whether they were placed there by chance, or for any special purpose. The circle, with its parallelithon, is very similar to the two below Black Tor and Hayter Tor, near Prince Town, except that each of these last has within it a carn, or a tumulus, which is evidently sepulchral. But I am inclined to think with Dr. Wilson¹ that some at least of the smaller stone circles belong to the "sepulchral class." That of the Nine Ladies on Stanton Moor in Derbyshire, before mentioned, though not enclosing a carn, and not connected with any avenue, appears also to be sepulchral, as are many others formed of concentric² rows of stones placed at the extremity or in the centre of avenues. In

¹ Prehist. Ann. of Scotland.

² 1b., p. 114.

this, too, the nine stones are not equidistant, two of the spaces being about double those on the opposite side.

Such circles come more properly under the class of circle-carns.

II. Carns, circle-carns, and concentric-circles, which may be divided into four heads: the *carn proper* (fig. 2), or heap of stones (fig. 3); the *circle-carn*, a low heap of stones and earth, surrounded by a circle of stones, generally placed upright or on their edges; the *concentric-circle-carn* (fig. 4), having similar upright stones in the carn itself; the *concentric-circle* without any carn or mound within it (fig. 5); to which I may add the *small circle without a carn*, but with an interment in the centre. The carn proper is too well known to need any description; but I shall have occasion to mention some peculiarities of those on Rhôssili down in speaking of the carns I there opened.

Those below Hayter Tor are really concentric-circle-carns, and have each an avenue running from them. The northernmost one is 31 feet 6 inches in diameter, and consists of fourteen upright stones, forming the outer circle, of which ten are standing, the original number having probably been fifteen:—at the different intervals (reckoning from the entrance to the avenue to the southward) of 4 feet 6 inches, 5 feet 10 inches, 5 feet 4 inches, 3 feet 2 inches, 5 feet 1 inch, 3 feet 2 inches, 3 feet 4 inches, 1 foot 2 inches, 1 foot 7 inches, 5 feet, 2 feet 8 inches, 5 feet 1 inch, 2 feet, and 8 feet 8 inches, which last was originally divided into two intervals of about 2 feet 3 inches and 4 feet 2 inches, allowing a space to this interval equal to the breadth of the avenue itself. (Fig. 6). The stones vary as well as the spaces between them, being (in the same order from the avenue to the south) 3 feet 1 inch, 1 foot 7 inches, 1 foot 3 inches, 2 feet 11 inches, 2 feet, 2 feet 11 inches, 2 feet 3 inches, 3 feet 7 inches, 2 feet 4 inches, 4 feet, 3 feet 6 inches, 1 foot 11 inches, 2 feet 3 inches, and 3 feet 3 inches (the next being wanting); and their greatest height is about 3 feet 5 inches above the ground. They surround the carn or mound, in which are other stones apparently placed in concentric-circles; and the avenue, 4 feet 2 inches in breadth, or 6 feet 1 inch external measurement (rather broader than that of Throwlsworthy), extends in a direct line from the circle

to the distance of 418 feet, where it is terminated by a large monolith, now fallen, measuring about 25 feet long by 2 feet 3 inches. Beyond it is a small stream, now distant about 120 feet, which may have formerly been within 10 or 12 feet of this terminal stone; but there is no appearance of the avenue having extended to the water's edge. And that it was not a general custom for avenues to lead to a river is evident from those in other places, and the southern parallelithon here extends from the carn to the high ground without even approaching the stream. Those, too, above Merivale bridge are in an elevated position, far distant from the river, and are terminated by a single upright stone; and at Castor they are not only distant from the Teign, but even if they had extended more than half-a-mile would have reached a portion of its banks which, from their steepness, rendered an approach to the water inconvenient and even difficult. The southern carn below Hayter Tor has no longer any circle surrounding it. The mound itself is 27 feet to 29 feet in diameter, and distant about 6 feet from its neighbour, which it nearly touched when its outer circle was standing, and probably equalled in size; and within it may be traced several of the inner stones beneath the heather that covers it. Its avenue begins as usual with a stone of larger dimensions than its neighbours, and measures 3 feet 4 inches in breadth, or 5 feet including the stones of both rows; but as it has been much injured, it only now extends to the distance of 205 feet, and its original length can no longer be determined; one of the streamworks of tin, so common in these districts, has cut its way across it and the other avenue. To the westward, beyond the external limits of both of them, is another carn, 22 feet to 23 feet in diameter, unconnected with these or any other avenue. About 140 feet beyond this carn the steep bank has been supported by masonry. These three carns are doubtless sepulchral; and the same may also be said of the concentric circle near the centre of the southern avenue above Merivale bridge, which is 12 feet 9 inches in diameter, and has in its outer row eight, and in the inner three, stones. Its position and dimensions, as well as the form of this and the neighbouring parallelithon to the north, may be seen

in my plan (vol. xvi of this *Journal*, pl. 7): together with the fallen cromlech; the circular cist, or sepulchral chamber, 14 feet 6 inches in diameter, walled with low upright slabs, in a mound or carn to the south of that avenue; the sacred circle; and the longstone, about 100 feet beyond it. The northern parallelithon also affords a satisfactory illustration of the custom of placing a large upright stone at either end of an avenue.

At Castor again is a concentric-circle carn (fig. 6a) which is 27 feet 6 inches in diameter, and is composed of 4 concentric circles, the innermost consisting apparently of 3 stones, two of which are rather larger than any of the rest. This may have formed part of a cist or sepulchral chamber. The outer circle has now 9 stones, the second row has 6, and the third 8; but the three rows may have consisted of 15, 10, and 10; though from the very unequal intervals in this, as in most circles, it is always difficult to determine their original number. Like the circle of Throwlsworthy, it stands at the end of an avenue, 3 feet 6 inches in breadth internally, and 554 feet in length, terminated at each end by two large monoliths. Those at the end nearest the circle are respectively 11 feet 4 inches and 7 feet in length. They have both fallen, and lie partly across the avenue; and the position of their broadest extremity, or base, might lead us to suppose they stood originally about 5 feet from the side of, rather than in a line with, the avenue. They are 13 feet from the circle, and this added to the 554 feet makes the total length of the avenue 567 feet.

Another avenue at Castor, 4 feet 10 inches in width, and about 382 feet in length, terminates with a carn, containing a cist, or coffin, 7 feet in length, standing on the brow of the low hill, or bank, to which the avenue ascends; and beyond this, after an interval of about 300 feet, is another avenue, 473 feet long, leading to a "long stone," or "Maen-hir," from which it is said to have continued to a cromlech now destroyed, a distance of about 690 feet. For this cromlech, however, the only authority is derived from three stones called the "Three Boys"; but they may have been large stones terminating the avenue; and I have not yet met with a real cromlech approached by an avenue. (See plate 6 in vol. xvi of this *Journal*, p. 113.)

It is evident, then, that not only simple cairns, or heaps of stone, but that those surrounded by a circle of upright stones placed at intervals, and sometimes in concentric circles, were sepulchral; and I may mention another instance of a concentric circle on the hills called Rhôssili Down,¹ in South Wales, 31 feet in diameter, which, though not presenting any positive signs of interment, must, from the number of cairns about it, have been a tomb. It consists of three concentric rows, the stones placed upright, and as usual at different intervals.

About 1900 feet to the south of this and lower down the hill of Rhôssili Down are other cairns. One of these (fig. 7) which by the kind permission of Mr. Talbot I was enabled to open and examine, is a low mound of earth and stones, about 3 feet to 4 feet high, surrounded by a circle of large upright stones, placed some on their sides, others on their ends, at different intervals. It is 33 feet in diameter, including the stones, few of which remain of the original circle. In the centre, at the depth of about 2 feet, is an artificial floor of clay, upon which I found what appeared to be a hearth, composed of seven flat stones carefully fitted together, and upon them a mass of charred wood (fig. 7); the remains, as I at first imagined, of the fire of a human dwelling. On further examination, however, a large slab was discovered, below one corner of this hearth (fig. 9), measuring 3 feet 3 inches by 2 feet, and from 4 to 6 inches thick; and this covered a cist, or chamber, 1 foot 8 inches long, by 1 foot 5 inches broad, and 1 foot 8 inches deep, composed of small upright slabs, with others forming its floor, and containing the much decayed residue of burnt bones. Two or three vertebræ of the spine sufficed to show that they were human. They had probably been deposited in an earthenware vase, long since entirely decomposed; and small fragments of pottery were found in other cairns in the same locality. The only new feature, therefore, in British sepulture presented by this cairn consisted in the presence of the burnt wood, and the hearth on which it had been lighted; and whether these were intended to mislead, or the charcoal was taken from the pile on which the body was burnt, or was the residue of some

¹ The importance of this district in former times is shewn by its numerous camps, and I hope to be able to describe it more fully on a future occasion.

ceremonial fire like the Beltan¹ of Scotland, it is difficult to determine. The stones of the hearth, having evidently been long exposed to great heat, were not evidently blackened by a fire once accidentally lighted upon them ; and the fact of their being found at the depth of two feet below the summit of the mound, precludes the possibility of their having been used at a later time. The same mark of fire was found on the stones forming a sort of floor in other cairns, or simple heaps of stone not surrounded by a circle, on the same Rhôssili downs; which floors are a peculiarity not met with in ordinary cairns. The floor consists of three or more large flat slabs from 1 foot 3 inches to 3 feet in length, at the depth of 2 feet from the present summit of the heap, and on these the body had probably been burnt, and afterwards deposited, though now entirely decomposed, and leaving only a greasy black residue of the burnt substance, about 4 inches deep, upon the slabs. In another large cairn on the same hills about 50 feet in diameter, was a more complete floor of large slabs, at the depth of 2 feet 3 inches below the level of the ground above which the cairn rises to the height of 4 feet (or 6 feet 3 inches above the floor); though time has diminished much of the original height of the cairn.

Such care in the burial of the dead at once refutes the notion of cairns being the tombs of malefactors. No one would take the trouble of ascending the highest hills to show their hatred of them by throwing stones on their graves ; the most conspicuous places were always the most honoured ; and the saying “ I would gladly carry a stone to his grave,” applied throughout Wales to those whose memory is revered, is sufficient evidence of the ancient custom.² At the old parish church at Radnor it was usual, until stopped by the present incumbent, for everyone who attended a funeral to carry a stone in his hand, and to cast it on a heap at the outside of the churchyard-gate ; and if the saying “ *carn di wyneb*,” “ a cairn be on your face,” used in Wales as a malediction, might be supposed to argue

¹ Probably from *tan* (fire); but I cannot connect the first part of the name with the god Bel, or Baal, a god unknown to the Britons.

² With the Jews, the heap of stones was placed over malefactors (Josh. vii, 26; viii, 29), and over Absolom (2 Sam. xviii, 17); but our ancestors were not Jews, though a late writer has pronounced us to be two of the lost tribes,—one established in England, the other in Wales !

in favour of the former opinion, it is only necessary to observe that this arose from a Christian prejudice against an ancient custom, and was a wish that the person might be buried like a heathen.

In another carn on Rhôssili Down I found some rude pottery on a clay floor 2 feet below the surface of the ground, with the remains of burnt wood; and this carn was also surrounded by a rude circle of upright stones. In all cases cremation had been adopted, and not the simple *burial* of the body; but both cremation and burial were adopted in our island, often at the same period, and even in the same interment, as among many other ancient people; so that neither process evidences a priority of age.

British pottery is generally of coarse texture, and is decorated with no ornamental designs of a higher class than mere punctures with a pointed instrument, or lines arranged in zigzag or reticulated lozenge patterns, like those of any primitive age; but considerable care is sometimes bestowed on the ornamentation of certain smaller cups, which were buried with the body though never used to hold burnt bones. The fragments, however, found at Rhôssili were destitute of all ornament.

On Cosden Down, on Dartmoor, are several carns; one of great size, which is a simple large heap of rough stones; another, merely a level space, 78 feet in diameter, surrounded by small loose stones varying from 8 inches to 1 foot in length, placed close together; about 70 feet from which is a larger one, 67 feet in diameter, encircled by upright stones placed close together, having in the centre of its level area a *cist-vaen*, once covered with, and composed of, large slabs; and 160 feet beyond this, to the northward, is a circle-carn, in the form of a mound surrounded by upright stones varying from 1 foot 10 inches to 3 feet 6 inches in height: not unlike that at Tredeneck in Cornwall, mentioned by Borlase (p. 219), and the usual circle carns. It is 50 feet in diameter; and overgrown with heather.

The custom of placing stones of various dimensions round the carn, or the tumulus of earth, is common in many countries; and this with certain modifications of the sepulchral mound I shall notice in speaking of the tumulus or barrow.

Some carns, or heaps of stones, have been called bea-

cons, and it is probable that they were occasionally used for that purpose, and that signal fires were lighted upon their summit ; but from the position of many of them in low places it is evident that this was not their primary, or general, intention. Carns are, however, mostly on the summits of very high hills, and are common throughout our island ; and one, evidently used as a beacon, is in the highest part of the camp on Bury Holmes, a fortified peninsula below Rhôssili ; another in a camp on Clack Hill, to the west of Wooton Bassett ; and others in various places.

III. The *tumulus*, or barrow of earth, *erug*, or *low*, needs no description ; and its various forms, as in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, are well known.

To it the Celtic name *erug* (pronounced *creeg*) signifying a “ heap,” or “ mound,”¹ properly belongs ; though this is applied to any heap even of stones. The modern *low* or *law* is derived from the Saxon *hlaw*. *Hlaw*, or *lowe*, signifies in like manner a tumulus of earth, and is the common name in our northern counties, for those ancient barrows in which the Britons buried their dead : sometimes, as in their other sepulchres, unburnt, the body crouched up and placed on its left side, or in a sitting posture ; and sometimes burnt, the ashes being placed in a vase of coarse earthenware, which was occasionally inverted over them. Arms and other implements, beads and various ornaments, were deposited in the tomb ; and I observed a finely preserved bronze dagger under the head of a skeleton in a *low*, or *tumulus*, opened in 1851, by Sir John Harpur Crewe, in Staffordshire. Here, too, as in other of these lows, a bed of charcoal was found, on which the body appeared to have been placed ; and two flint javelin heads were discovered near the body.

Some are of opinion that the *tumulus*, or barrow, is a Saxon, not a British, sepulchre ; but this is an error ; for though the Saxons raised tumuli over their dead, their mode of placing the body differed from that of the Britons, and may readily be distinguished by the body being placed at full length on its back, and by the objects buried with it. Indeed, by far the greater number of

¹ It is even applied to heather, from its growing sometimes in tumps, or round masses.

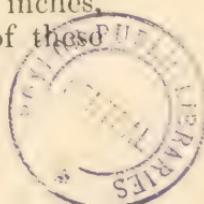
tumuli in this island contain British interments; and the Saxons often buried their dead in the upper part of British barrows.

The *tumulus* has been the most usual monument raised over the dead in all ages; sometimes merely of earth, sometimes as a carn, or heap of stones; and tumuli are found in the Troad, Dalmatia, Greece, Italy, Scandinavia, and indeed throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

The *tarabéel* of Ethiopia, in the Dar Shaigéa (fig. 10) are lofty mounds, 30 or 40 feet high; but some have the peculiarity of being surrounded at their base by rows of small stones of various sizes; which last is sometimes imitated to this day in the graveyards of the present Moslem inhabitants, who there raise small tumuli, instead of the ordinary oblong grave-mound, so like to our own. Such tumuli are common in the province of Dongola; they are about 6 feet high, with a circle of small black stones round the base (fig. 11), and a few white pebbles on their summit; but the *tarabéel* are paved, or cased, at the lower part, with a layer of flat stones placed on the surface of the mound, which is itself of rough stones and rubble; and the casing perhaps extended originally to the top.

The pyramid of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Mexico, is a more adorned and perfect kind of stone tumulus; and whether containing a small *cist*, or a spacious chamber and its passage built of massive stones (as in the *chamber-cromlechs*), or in the form of a circular mound raised on a well-built stone basement, as in Etruria, it is the same idea carried out in a different manner.

IV. The *cist* (*kist*) or *cist-vaen*, "stone chest," generally contained the body, unburnt; but sometimes, when of small size it held the burnt bones. That of Cosden and of Castor, I have already noticed; and it is too generally known to need any description; but as it varies in form and character, I have divided the *cist* into three kinds: 1. The chest formed of four or more slabs covered by one or more flat stones, containing the entire body, and about 7 feet long. 2. The *cist-vaen*, "stone chest," or coffin, generally of one stone (or the rock hollowed out, or of four slabs, covered by a larger one), 2 feet 3 inches long, by 1 foot 2 inches, or internally about 1 foot 10 inches, by 10 inches, and 1 foot 2 inches deep. One of these



is preserved in the Truro museum, and contains burnt bones. Sometimes two cists were cut in the rock, side by side, covered by the same set of slabs; as in a field near the old British camp of Grongar,¹ in South Wales. There are one or two instances of cists in hut circles, or houses.

v. The *avenue*, or *parallelithon* I have already mentioned (under the head of carn, class ii, pp. 36, 37, 38). They are generally composed of monoliths of considerable size, when attached to sacred circles, as at Abury, Stanton-Drew, and some other places; but of smaller stones when leading to carn and other sepulchral monuments, where, as I have stated, they frequently occur. Indeed, their presence before these might be used as an argument in favour of the so called sacred circles having been tombs, like the circle-carns; but the probability of processions having taken place to a temple, as well as to a tomb, and the custom of burying within the precincts of the former (as Christians did in their churches) having been so general in many countries, we can scarcely draw that inference from their presence before those circles. Nor does the fact of interments being found within such circles decide the question.

The passage into the sepulchral chambers of the so-called cromlechs, in the Channel Islands, is probably the same idea as the avenue leading to cists and carn, on a limited scale; and though buried beneath the mound that covered the whole monument, it may have been intended as a mark of respect, and a type of the processional ceremony, by which the mourners for a deceased friend were introduced to the last resting place of his honoured remains.

Avenues are generally straight, and not sinuous, as some have supposed; and if they sometimes curve, this may be attributed to the nature of the ground; and though the great avenue at Carnac² winds in various directions, it does not bear any resemblance to the form of a snake.³

¹ Grongar Hill. See Dyer's poem in Johnson's *English Poets*, vol. lviii. It is probably called from the round form of the camp on its summit, *cron* or *gron* signifying round. (Cf. *corona*.)

² *Carnac* is thought to be the adjective form of *carn*, which last is often applied to a number of stones even though not placed in a heap: *ae* is a very common Breton termination.

³ See vol. xvi of this *Journal*, pp. 111-15.

At Callernish, or Classernich, in the Isle of Lewis, one of the Hebrides, is an avenue of cruciform shape (described in Wilson's *Prehist. Ann. of Scotland*, p. 115), attached to a circle "60 feet in diameter, with a column in the centre, measuring 13 feet in height," from which the avenue stretches to the north, while single rows (of stones) "placed towards the other cardinal points complete the cruciform arrangement of the whole." The greatest length of its avenue is stated to be 558 feet; "by Macalister, about 680 feet," and it formerly held a place among sacred monuments; but its sepulchral character has now been determined by the discovery of two chambers in the centre of the circle: one, 6 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 3 inches; the other, 4 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 1 inch; in the former of which human bones were found. (*Proc. S. Ant. of Scotl.*, vol. iii, Part I, p. 112.)

Occasionally, but rarely, a double avenue has been met with (or three rows of stones), as on Chillacombe Down, to the west of Grimsound, which is 15 feet in total breadth, and runs nearly due north (by compass) from a large stone which appears to have marked its limits on that side, to a distance of about 280 feet, and probably extended originally more than 60 feet farther to the south, being there cut through by a stream.

Avenues are also found in other countries; one is said to be near Hit, on the Euphrates, leading to a circle of upright slabs; and in India, besides many ortholithic remains in various places, are avenues at the village of Mushmaie, near Chirra Poonjee, and others leading to the latter place on the Cossyah, or Kasia, hills.

vi. Cromlechs appear in all places to have been sepulchral. I have divided them into five kinds:

1. Three-pillared, or cromlech proper, having the cap-stone supported on three upright piers or slabs, as Lanyon¹ Quoit (plate 2, fig. 1), Pendarvis or Caer Wynen Quoit (fig. 2), Drewsteignton (fig. 3), Kit's Coty house,² and others.

That such cromlechs had originally only three sup-

¹ This having been thrown down was restored by Lieut. Goldsmith after he had replaced the Logan stone; but as the position of the cap-stone differs from others in being quite horizontal, it may not be placed exactly as of old. Those of dolmens, or sepulchral chambers, are level.

² This name recalls the common Celtic word for "huts" or "cots," *cyttiu;* sing., *cwt* or *cwt*.

porters I have already shown (in vol. xvi of this *Journal*, p. 113, note); and beneath the capstone of the one near Craig Madden castle, in Stirlingshire, there is actually no room for a fourth.¹ The Pierre des Fées, near Reignier, in Savoy, has also three supporters, all of granite (fig. 4); and those in Anglesea, described by Mr. Longueville Jones, in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, vol. iii, p. 41-43, are chiefly on three piers. That of Manorbeer (*maen-aur-pir*) near Tenby has three, low and slab-shaped, with a cap-stone measuring about 15 feet 6 inches in length, by 8 feet 6 inches, and 1 foot 9 to 4 inches in thickness, which, before it slipped off its southern supporter, may have rested also on the adjacent rock. It was probably the monument of some one who had perished in the sea below.

In Malabar, two of these three-pillared cromlechs have been found; and though they are not immediately connected with our own, it is interesting to know that similar monuments are met with in very distant countries.

The size of the cover, or cap, stone, varies considerably, like its supporters. That of Lanyon measures 18 feet by 8 feet 4 inches; and the supporting stones are 5 feet high. That of Drewsteignton is 15 feet long, by 10 feet in breadth, its lower face being 6 feet 2 inches from the ground, and the weight has been estimated at about 16 tons 16 lbs.; the solid contents being 216 cubic feet. There is another cromlech near Lanyon village, which has fallen. (Fig. 5.) The cover stone is about 13 feet, by 10 feet; and of its three supporters the highest may have been about 6 feet.

2. The four-pillared cromlech stands on four upright slabs, like the Chiun, or Che-ûn, quoit, in Cornwall. (Fig. 6.) The Malfra quoit (fig. 7) and the smaller *dolmen* near Saumur, in France (fig. 8), seem also to have been originally four-sided cromlechs; and those described by Mr. Rhind, in Algeria, already mentioned in p. 12 (fig. 9), are of the same form. Eighty of these are in a space covering not more than ten or twelve acres; their four slabs form, as usual, a rectangular chamber; the size of the cap-stone varies from 7 feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, to 9 feet by 7 feet; and others were found by Mr. Gregory, in the regency of

¹ *V. Prehist. Ann. of Scotland*, p. 66.

Tunis, near Thala. Of a similar kind appear to be most of the numerous cromlechs in India, mentioned in Mrs. Graham's *Journal of a Residence in India*, in Colonel Hamilton Smith's *Nat. Hist. Hum. Species*, p. 344, and in *Pr. Soc. Ant. Scott.*, vol. i, Part I, pp. 92, 94; some of which are circular, and some have only three sides. Similar monuments are found in Circassia and Syria; and one is described by Dr. Beke, to the east of the Jordan, as "a perfect Kit's Coty House."

On Rhôssili down in South Wales, are two cromlechs, 310 feet apart, each standing at the end of a mass of ruins, which appears to have been once enclosed by a circular wall, now thrown down (fig. 10). They appear also to have had four supporters to the cover, or cap-stone, which, in the northern one, has slipped off, as at Zennor and Malfra, and the under side, when standing on the supporting slabs, was about 5 feet 1 inch, to 5 feet 5 inches from the ground, on which its lower end now rests. Around them is a circle of fern, probably indicating other remains below it. They are called "swine's houses," probably a corruption of "Sweyne's houses," and may have received that name from a battle said to have been fought on these hills with the Danes, in the 900; though not built by those passing plunderers, who, too, are said to have been defeated on that occasion, and to have lost their ships, burnt by the Britons. They are also too far from the coast (which is not within sight of them) to mark a spot inhabited by the Danes; or selected by them as a place of interment. They are also of much greater antiquity.

Some cromlechs stand on a platform, slightly raised above the adjacent ground; but I know of none that have been covered by a tumulus, or mound of earth, of which they formed the chamber. Such cromlechs, within a tumulus, are distinct from these, and I have classed them under the head of *subterranean chambers*.

3. Many-pillared cromlechs, with several supporters, either slabs or rectangular pillars, as at Trevethy (fig. 11)

¹ The Irish (like the Gaelic of Scotland and the Manx) is a different branch of the Celtic tongue from the Welsh; and in answer to those who pretend that the difference has grown up in later times, it is sufficient to say that it was as different in the time of St. Aidus, who lived in the early part of the 500, as it is now; and the same kind of distinguishing peculiarities have always been maintained from the earliest times.

and Zennor¹ (fig. 12) in Cornwall (at the latter of which the cap, or cover-stone, has slipped off the piers that once supported it), and Arthur's stone (fig. 13) in Gower, South Wales, near which are one large and several small cwns on the same hill.

The Trevethy² cromlech is of unusual height, being about 16 feet from the ground to the highest point of the cap-stone, where it is pierced by a small round hole close to the upper corner. The cap-stone is 16 feet in length, by 10 feet, and the upright piers or slabs are six in number. At Zennor, the cap-stone has slipped off its supporters, and rests with one end on the ground. It measures 17 feet 6 inches, by 9 feet 4 inches, and is about 1 foot 2 inches in thickness, and like all those in Cornwall is of granite. It has seven upright piers; but Arthur's stone has nine; which, as usual, do not all touch the cover-stone, and this, instead of being comparatively thin, and resembling a slightly convex slab, is a massive block, 13 feet 3 inches long, by 7 feet, and 7 feet thick. It was once larger, about one-quarter having been broken off;³ and out of the nine short piers which stand beneath it, and form two chambers or compartments, four only touch or support it. Its site is slightly lower than the surrounding ground, and is much encumbered with fragments of stones, some of which have been brought there from the neighbouring cwn, and did not form part of a mound, or tumulus, with which some have fancied it was once covered. It is called "*muen ketti*." Some have attributed it to a Christian saint; others relate how St. David split it in two, to show the pagans it was not a holy monument; and some, at the present day, have erroneously fancied the surface-water beneath it to be an ancient and holy spring; but neither is the name, *ketti*,⁴ derived from a saint, nor is the water a spring; and the water and the

¹ Borlase, in plate 21, p. 223, represents Zennor cromlech having its cap-stone in place. It has since partly slipped off its supporters, and rests with one end on the ground.

² *Trevethy*, or *Tre-beddau*, means "town of graves." If it signified "three graves," as some have supposed, it would have been *tre-bedd*. In both cases the name points to its sepulchral character.

³ Camden speaks of it as already broken in his time, to make millstones. It is quartz conglomerate of the old red sandstone.

⁴ May not *ketti* (properly *cetti*) have the same origin as "Kits Coty house" in Kent? (*V. supra*, p. 45.)

stones have been more than once cleared out, and brought back again ; the first by natural drainage, and the latter by young people, who believe that by throwing stones beneath the cromlech, and placing a honey cake upon it, they will, while crawling round it on their knees at midnight, see, in a vision, the person they are destined to marry ; some, too, have been thrown in by idle boys.

4. *Chamber-cromlech.* Of this there is a remarkable example in the *great dolmen* near Saumur (fig. 14), near Poitiers, which is very similar to another in the Touraine, and to a fourth at Antequera, in Spain.

That near Saumur is 61 feet in length, by about $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, with walls of four large slabs on each side, those on the left (as you enter) measuring respectively $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet, $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet, 12 feet, and 20 feet in length, 8 feet 8 inches high, and about 2 feet thick ; covered by a lintel and three roof stones, one of which is 24 feet 6 inches square, and from 2 to 3 feet in thickness. The walls are 8 feet 8 inches high, and the end slab is 23 feet 6 inches in length. It has a doorway 4 feet wide, between two large upright slabs, and an entrance passage extends before it to the distance of 19 feet 3 inches.

The *dolmen* near Essé, about two miles from Poitiers, called Roche des Fées, is built in like manner with walls of upright slabs, supporting a roof of large flat blocks ; and another of great size is near the village of St. Antoine du Rocher, about ten miles north-west of Tours. That of Antequera, in Spain, described by Don Raphael Mitjana, is very like the great Saumur *dolmen*, being covered with five roof stones, of 16 feet, $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet, 16 feet, and 23 feet in length, by from 18 feet to 27 feet in breadth, and having a similar short passage in front, of one stone in length. Its internal length is $86\frac{1}{2}$ Spanish feet, by 22 feet, and 10 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches high ; surpassing in its dimensions that of Saumur ; but as it is covered by a mound of earth artificially heaped upon the roof, it should rather be classed under the head of *subterraneous chambers* than *chamber-cromlechs*.

5. The subterranean chamber, though not properly a cromlech, has received that name, as the Cromlech du Tus, in Guernsey ; which is a chamber lined with large upright slabs, covered by a roof of one stone, and having

a passage leading into it, formed in like manner of upright slabs covered by large lintels. Over it has been raised a tumulus of earth, which is surrounded by a circle 60 feet in diameter; and from the chamber, which is in the centre, a passage leads to the edge of the circle, where it is closed by a large stone (*v. vol. i. of this Journal, p. 26*).

Some cromlechs may be of late date, and erected in Roman times; for in the ground beneath one in Wiltshire Roman pottery has been discovered (*v. Arch. Cambrensis, 3rd ser., No. xvii, p. 80*). As they are not monuments of the Saxons, being found in Gaul, Savoy, Spain, Wales, and other countries where the Saxons were not established, it is evident that this one in Wiltshire was either of a Romano-British period, or was used for a Roman interment some time after its erection.

The name cromlech has been supposed to be derived from *crom* (Irish *cromb*), signifying “bowed,” or “bending,” and to be applied from the convex form of the capstone; though it has been objected that this name was unknown till after the end of the 1500; and it is certainly not in Davis’s Dictionary of 1632. *Cromm*, however, a feminine form of the word *crom*, is there found for “curved,” *cromen*, in Welsh, is a “dome” or “cupola,” and *crommen* is applied to the hollow (tympanum) under the gable end of a house. *Llech* is an old word, used at least as early as 500 A.D., and probably long before that period. But their age is unimportant; they are Celtic words, and no one requires them to have been current in the time of the Druids. And as “cromlech” is a name used by the peasants, who do not borrow names from books or learned authorities, there is every probability of its being an old word.

VII. The *maen-hir* (pl. *maenau-hirion*) or “longstone” (the *men-hir* or *Peulvan*¹ of Brittany, and the French *pierre levée*) is common in Cornwall, on Dartmoor, in Wales, in Scotland, and in France.

From the word *hir* has probably been derived the name *hoar* (stones)—applied with that most common habit of adopting a name of somewhat similar sound in lieu of an older one of a different meaning; in the same manner as

¹ *Van* or *vaen* is, by mutation, the same as *maen* (stone); *m*, as usual, being changed into *v* or *f*, and probably related to the Hebrew *aben* (stone), whence *bensch*, “he built,” the Arabic *bena*. *Pill* in Welsh is a “shaft” or stem.”

John Dory and Jeandoré are substituted for il Janitore, and Jerusalem artichoke for gira'sole (sunflower). Thus again the “imp stone,” on Tadley common in Berkshire, has originated in the three letters IMP of “imperator” remaining on a Roman milestone; and the catstone is that which marked the site of an ancient battle (“cad”) of British times.

“Longstones” are acknowledged to be sepulchral monuments; the remains of human bodies have been found beneath them, and the custom of raising such monuments to the dead is of the oldest date, and by no means confined to any one country. They were erected on some occasions as memorials of remarkable events; and the pillar of Beth-el (“God’s house,” or rather here “God’s abode”) has often been cited in confirmation of this fact; though the stone which Jacob set up, and on the top of which he poured oil, after it had served him as a pillow (Gen. xxviii, 18), was small in comparison to these monuments; and as in early times in Greece a rude stone or pillar was both an idol and a monumental record, so in Hebrew the same word signifies a *cippus* and an image, as in Leviticus xxvi, 1, where we translate it a “standing image.” The word *mutzebeh* (*מַצְבָּה*), however, implies anything “set up,” and is derived from *נָצַב*, “erected” or “planted,” like the Arabic *nuseb*, to “erect”; and a similar word was used in Phoenician for a *cippus* or monument. The *mutzebeh* was also set up by Jacob as a funereal *cippus* over the grave of Rachel (Gen. xxxv, 20).

The word *Baιτυλια*, so evidently related to Bethel, and derived from the Phoenician, was also applied to sacred stones. It was under the form of a conical stone that Venus or Astarte, was worshipped in Cyprus, and at Emesa (as represented on the coins); and the black stone of Mekkeh is a remnant of this early worship.

The upright stone was also a boundary mark (as in Gen. xxxi, 51, 52), for which purpose many in our own island have been used; and the Greek name, *κιων*

¹ The Latin *bascauda* is the Welsh *basged*, a “basket,” from *basy*, “plaiting.” It was an old British name, as Martial tells us (xiv, 99),

“Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis,
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam.”

Juvenal (xii, 46) mentions “*bascaudas et mille escaria.*”

(“column”) was applied to a sacred monument, and even in early times to an idol, as well as to a $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta$ or funereal *cippus*, and to any column.

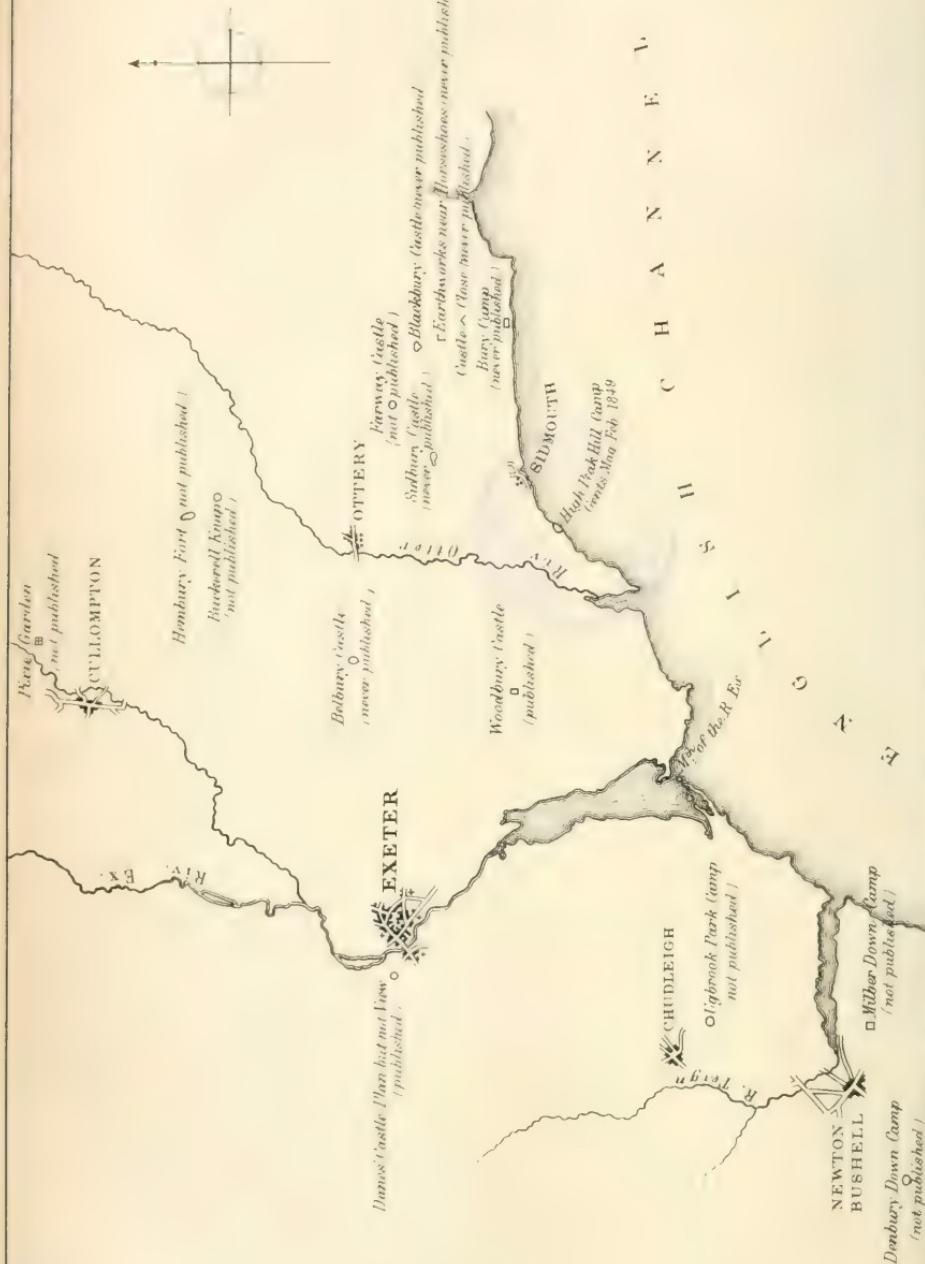
I do not, however, suppose that the “long stones” of Britain were ever treated as idols. They were, probably, always sepulchral; and were also adopted for this purpose in our island in Christian times, many bearing Latin inscriptions recording the names of persons buried beneath them. They are then frequently surmounted by a cross, and ornamented with the interlaced work so common in Ireland, which has rather hastily been denominated the Runic knot,¹ and which has been supposed by some to have been copied from the basket work for which the ancient Britons were so noted. One of them, with this interlaced ornament, near Liskeard, bears an inscription purporting that it was of Dongerth, king of Cornwall, who was drowned in 872 A.D.; another of Carausius, the son of Canimorus, a Romanised Briton, is near Lostwithiel; another a quarter of a mile from the noted stone near Lanyon, called *men scryffa* “the inscribed stone,” bears the name of Riolo Bran, son of Cunoval; and others are found in various places. Ogham inscriptions also occur on many longstones in Ireland, and on some few in Scotland and Wales, which have been attributed to Christian time.²

Longstones are often from 8 to 12 and 15 feet in height; and that of Plounéour in Britanny, measures 32 feet 6 inches. They are numerous in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, and other countries; but should not be confounded with those placed at intervals “with a wall of dry masonry, or earth, between them;” nor with those built into the walls of circular pounds, or enclosures, composed of large stones; nor with the occasional one in a sacred circle which outtops its smaller neighbours. They always stand alone, independent of any others; and if two or more are sometimes found within half a mile of each other, they do not form part of a circular, or any other, arrangement. And when, as at Castor, a long-stone occurs in an avenue, it is the simple monolithic monument to which

¹ It was common in Roman times, and has even been found in the Somauli country, south of Abyssinia. *V. Proc. S. Ant. Scotl.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 91.

² See Mr. Pettigrew’s paper, “On Ogham Inscriptions,” in *Journal*, xvii, 293-310.





the avenue of small stones leads, and is in the same relation to them, as a carn, or a circle, in a similar position. Occasionally a long-stone may be the remnant of an avenue which consisted of many of these gigantic ortholithic members, but it does not then come under the denomination of *maen-hir*, or “long-stone,” as a Greek column once forming part of a peristyle does not bear any relationship to one erected as a monument. An avenue is also terminated by a stone loftier than the rest, but this is not a “*maen-hir*”; nor is the “long-stone merely the single remaining supporter of a fallen cromlech, as some have supposed. Nine or ten are still standing in Gower, and many in other parts of Wales; and about Boscowen, in Cornwall, are several, though so many have been destroyed there, as in other parts of the country.¹

(To be continued.)

THE END OF THE EDITION

ON THE HILL FORTRESSES, TUMULI, AND SOME OTHER ANTIQUITIES OF EASTERN DEVON.

BY PETER ORLANDO HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

IN giving some account of the antiquities of eastern Devon, my paper must necessarily be discursive; and as I am limited for time, I shall condense as much as possible. I dwell mostly on the pre-Norman period, though I may now and then descend cursorily to later times.

To begin with the hill fortresses. For the sake of clearness, I will attack the eastern side of the county first, and then proceed westwards. (See Map on plate 3.) During the earliest times of which we have any historical knowledge, it is supposed that the river Axe was the dividing line between the Danmonii of Devon, and the Morini, a tribe of Gaul that had established themselves in Dorsetshire.

Several camps in this part of the county I omit noticing,

¹ *Errata*.—P. 23, line 19, after “*Dwfn*” read “or *Dvvn*”; p. 27, line 2, after “see below” read “p. 44”; p. 28, line 14 from bottom of page, for “when their religion and customs become known to us from the monuments,” read “when those monuments were erected which make known to us their religion and customs.”

because I have nothing new to offer respecting them. There is, however, an oblong square camp on Littlecombe Hill, near Branscombe, which appears to have escaped the vigilance of our local antiquaries. The farmers call the plot of ground Langham Field, but as it forms a portion of Bury Farm, I now call it BURY CAMP. (See Plate 4, fig. 1.) On three sides it is surrounded by a ditch and rampart, the edge of the cliff occupying the fourth side. This outer side measures nine hundred and fifty-two feet; through the middle the length is more than one thousand, owing to an advance of the works at what was probably the original entrance. The entrenchments are most perfect at the north-west end, where the measurement is nineteen feet from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the agger. The width across the middle of the camp is three hundred and fifty feet. Along the north-east flank, within the area, run the traces of a bank. I was told by a man on the spot, that an attempt to cultivate a garden was once made here, and that this is only the remains of the hedge. The ground is level all round outside, except on the outer part bounded by the cliff. If the shape of this camp be a sufficient warranty, we will assign it to the invading Romans; and I am the more encouraged to do so from the discovery of decidedly Roman remains in the neighbourhood.

Stone coffin.—Half a mile north-west a stone coffin containing human remains was first met with in a field about the year 1790. At this time, and at one or two subsequent examinations of the place, all the large bones of the skeleton were removed; and on the 27th of July, 1857, I assisted in exploring the locality carefully. The coffin was made of soft Beer stone, which is chalk. The top part was only a few inches beneath the turf, but possibly there might have been a mound over it in former times. The whole of it was much broken into fragments, except about three feet of the head end; but even of this, the right side was broken out. The head end lay about fourteen degrees west of north. It was eleven inches and a half deep, and about seven feet long. I produce the fruits of this search. Amongst the bones are two finger bones, a metacarpal bone of the back of the hand, a toe bone, a tooth, and so on. There is also apparently an iron rivet much corroded; and last, though not least, a bronze fibula or brooch, which has lost the pin.

This fibula has been pronounced Roman, by competent authority.

Castle Close.—A mile north-east from this spot, a work of apparently quadrangular form has been nearly destroyed within the last dozen years, by quarrymen digging for chalk. The place is called “Castle Close,” and is in Branscombe parish. In the plan, a part has been excavated, and all that now remains is a portion of about twenty to twenty-five yards in length. A trench, about seven feet deep, had been filled with dry flints, probably when the land was first cleared and brought into cultivation ; but the digging away of the earth exposed the ends gradually to view. Whilst this process was going on, bones continued to be found almost daily in the bottom of the trench. The quarrymen also said they met with pottery, some brown, and some yellow ; and likewise, what they believed to be parts of an iron crock. If they really met with iron, possibly it may have been portions of a helmet or breastplate. Unfortunately, none of these relics were preserved. A tumulus was removed, and in or near to it a slab of stone, measuring about three feet by two and a half, by nine inches thick, was found, covering a cavity in which were bones. That slab now forms the floor of the most southerly of the two limekilns close by.

Quern and Victorinus.—Not far from this, on the land of Mr. Tucker, of Branscombe, was found a Roman coin of Victorinus, and the lower stone of a quern or hand-mill, which I exhibit. The stone is of hard igneous rock, somewhat resembling the boulders that lie scattered on Haldon.

Watercombe vase.—About ten years ago, in a field called “Crossway Close,” near Watercombe, in the same neighbourhood, a sepulchral earthen vase was dug up, of supposed Roman design. It is described to have been about half a yard in diameter, and nearly as high. I have seen but one fragment of it, which the farmer would not part with ; but I made a facsimile of it in coloured plaster. The pattern was impressed upon the wet clay of the original with a twisted cord.

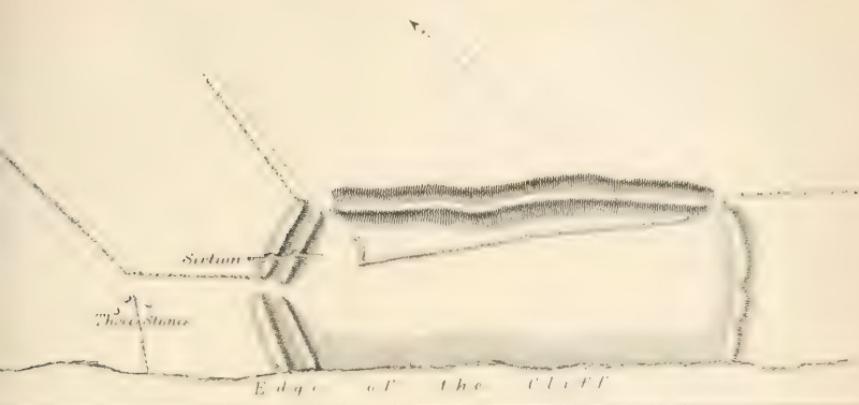
Earthworks behind “Three Horseshoes” Inn.—Advancing still further inland, and a little more than two miles from the coast, we find an extensive earthwork in the fields behind “The Three Horseshoes,” a wayside inn on the

Lyme road. This has scarcely been noticed by our local writers. A ridge runs through the fields from south to north more than a thousand feet; it then turns towards the east by a rounded corner, and abuts against a hedge. If this were the western side of a Roman camp, the hedge seems to take the place of the north side; and another, at the south end, leads to the idea that the south side may have run there. The east side, if there ever were one, is not apparent now. There is something like a sunk road. Persons who recollect the land before it was enclosed, say that the ridge was then from twelve to fifteen feet high. It may be observed that the ditch is said to have been on the inside of the agger.

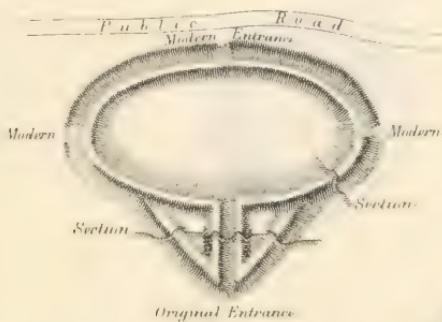
BLACKBURY CASTLE.—It will be seen that I have produced several articles and three series of earthworks, of apparently Roman type. Let us now consider a camp constructed on altogether different principles, and which may be assigned to a different race of people. Half a mile north from the last-mentioned works, and separated from them by a deep valley lies Blackbury castle. (Fig. 2.) It is an oval camp, measuring six hundred and thirty-four feet long, by three hundred and twenty-four wide, surrounded by a ditch and agger. The slope of the agger on the south-east side is thirty-six feet. One remarkable feature is the original entrance on the south. From the middle of the camp a sunk road is carried outwards to the distance of one hundred and eighty feet; and from the outer end of this road, the trenches are deflected back towards the extremities of the oval: so that this sunk road is bounded by two large triangles of similar construction to the vallum and fosse of the camp itself. Another strange circumstance connected with Blackbury castle, is the existence of calcined flints, which, though I have found in other places, abound mostly at the south point of the eastern triangle. It has been conjectured that these have been caused by beacon fires. I find it difficult to accept this solution, but I find it equally difficult to offer another. I find it difficult to accept this solution, first, from the fact that the locality where they are most abundant, is not on the crown of the hill, where a beacon would reasonably be placed, but considerably below the crown, towards the hollow of a valley, shut in by the opposite hill: so that a light kindled at this spot would

Bury Camp, near Branscombe

Road to the Lime Kilns

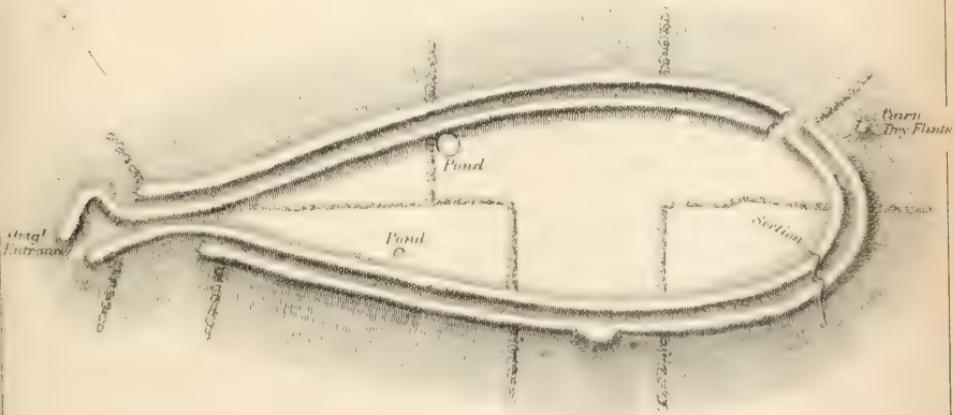


Blackbury Castle



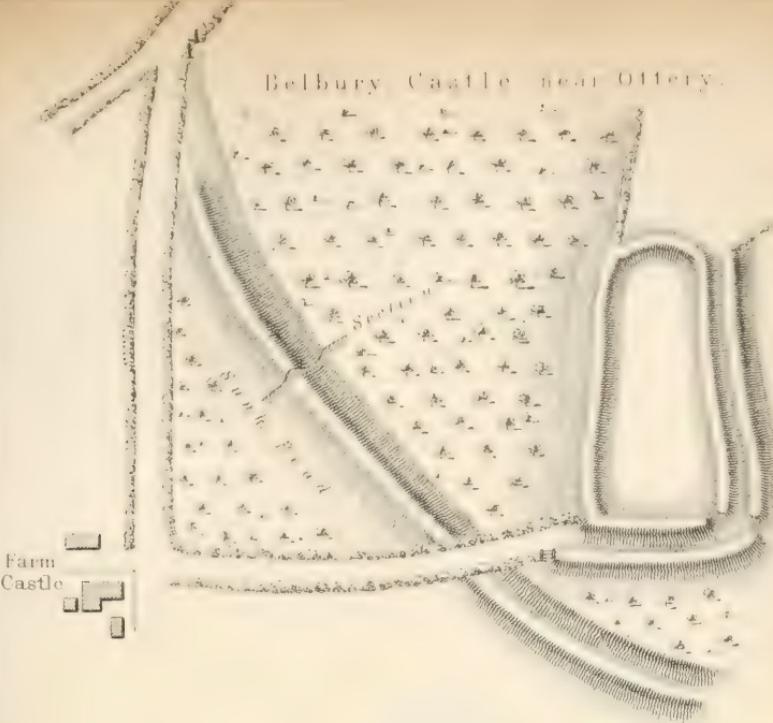
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Sidbury Castle

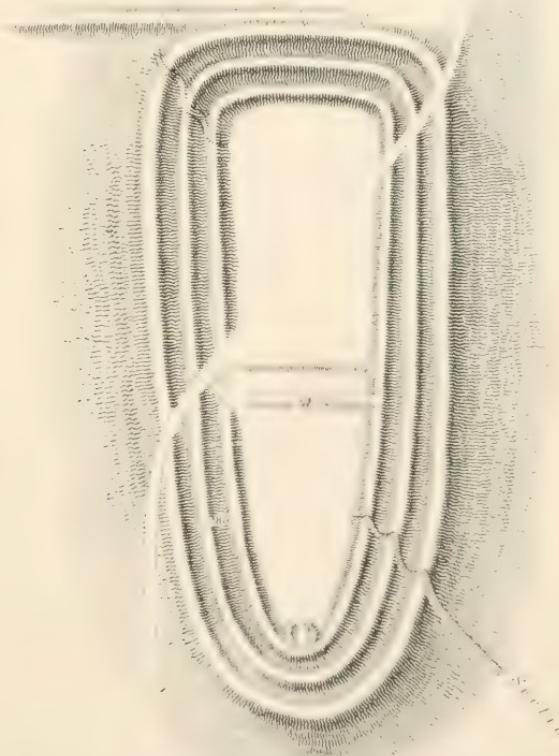




Belbury Castle near Ottery.



Hembury Country.

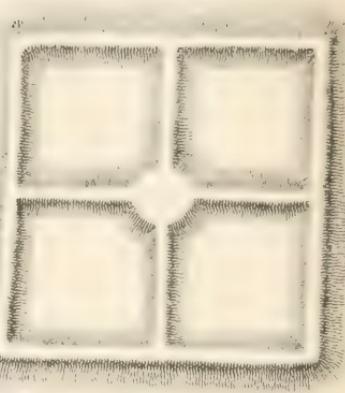


Buckerell Knap.

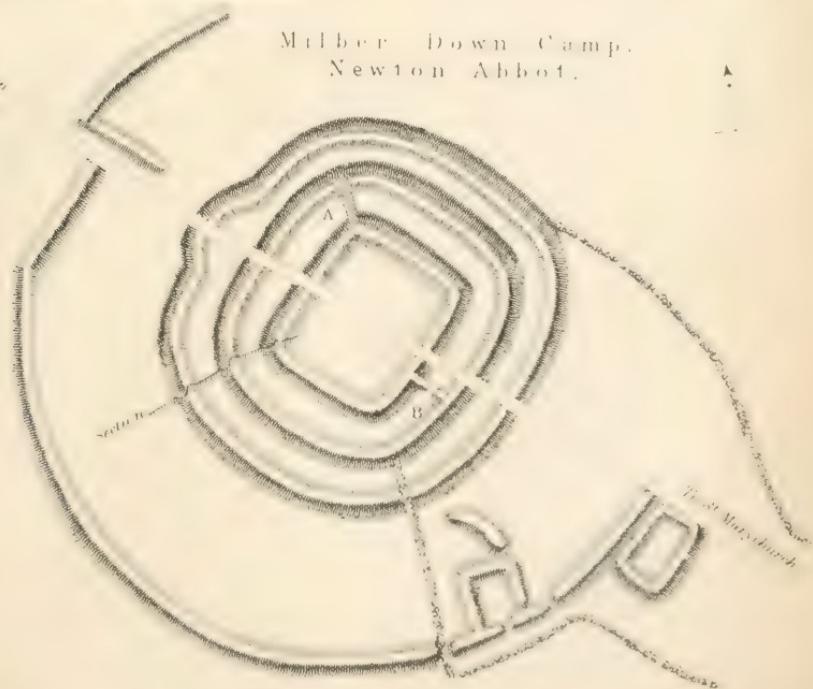


Bushy Knap

Pixie Garden.
Uffington Down.



Milber Down Camp.
Newton Abbot.





appear to have been nearly useless as regarded the power of giving intelligence to neighbouring camps. A man who was there, said that when Wiscombe new house was built some thirty-five years ago, he assisted in carting away seventy loads of these flints, which were sifted and used for the mortar. Considerable traces of charcoal were also found. He further said that an earthen vase was discovered and taken away by one of his fellow-workmen. He did not see the vase, but he saw the round hole out of which it had been lifted. Now, bearing in mind that fire burns downwards with reluctance, and that heat penetrates downwards but slowly, it may seem strange that such immense quantities of flints, which appear to have been submitted to great heat, should be found here. They are mostly splintered into small pieces as if by fire, whilst the larger fragments are full of cracks, like the glaze on old china ware. An idea has been started, as to whether the occupants of the camp burnt their dead, and whether this practice would solve the difficulty of these calcined flints. A tradition is current, to the effect that at some remote period a great battle was fought in the valley between Blackbury castle and the hill opposite on the south, where the above-mentioned earthworks exist; and that the dead were buried in a large mound some three hundred yards south-east from Blackbury castle. I think it highly probable that the Romans attacked the Britons here: but from an actual examination of the mound, I believe it to be a natural hill. A pit, ten feet deep, was sunk on its apex, but nothing was met with but fine yellow sand, which seemed never to have been disturbed. That the Romans attacked the Britons here, is an impression which the foregoing facts have forced upon me. First, we have Bury camp on the edge of the cliff, where the Romans may have made a footing within sight of their galleys: then, a mile inland, is Castle Close: and, lastly, a mile and a half further inland, immediately opposite Blackbury castle, on the brow of the hill, an advanced work is pushed forward, from which the invaders could watch every movement in the fortress whose destruction they were planning. The tradition then furnishes us with the occurrence of a great battle.

Stone-burrow plot.—Three-quarters of a mile west of Blackbury Castle, in a field called “Stone-burrow Plot,” on

Lovehayne farm, is a tumulus which has been half cleared away. I assisted in examining it on the 19th of September, 1859. The construction of this barrow was as follows : First, the natural earth had been lowered two feet below the surface ; then a mound of dry flints had been heaped up to the height of four feet six inches ; and, finally, over this had been placed a mass of earth five or more feet thick. From the bottom and centre of all this were obtained the remains which I exhibit. They consist of eight pieces of an urn of unbaked clay ; a quantity of calcined bones, apparently of persons of different ages, such as pieces of ribs, skulls, jaw-bones, the latter being so small as to have belonged to a child. There are also two arrow-heads and a spear-head of flint.¹ I speak cautiously ; for it is necessary to be very reserved in the matter of such articles. Perhaps the middle size example may be genuine ; but I have no confidence in the others. The action of the weather and the winter frosts sometimes split the flints on the hills into many fantastic forms, and not unfrequently into those of very good arrow-heads. The difference, however, between nature's work and man's handywork can generally be detected. Atmospheric forces commonly make but one clean cut when engaged in forming arrow-heads ; whereas, the edges of these weapons fashioned by the hand of man exhibit a number of small facets, as if they had been chipped out by degrees.

FARWAY CASTLE.—Proceeding across Broad Down towards Honiton Hill, where there are many tumuli, few of which have been properly examined, we come to Farway Castle. This is a circular entrenchment, two hundred feet in diameter, which, as far as I am aware, has never been mentioned by our Devonshire writers. Although it is on the flat of the hill, it commands extensive views on almost all sides.

SIDBURY CASTLE.—About two miles and a half hence, and the same from Sidmouth, lies Sidbury Castle. (Fig. 3.) The interior area of this is larger than that of any camp in the neighbourhood, though not so strongly fortified as

¹ Mr. Hutchinson, subsequently to the delivery of his paper at the Exeter Congress, transmitted to the Association the drawing of a bronze celt, of common type, taken from this tumulus in 1810; at which time, tradition says, many others were found, and sold for old metal. The tumulus was totally removed in October 1861.

Hembury Fort. In form it is pear shaped ; the large end tending towards the east. It measures fourteen hundred feet long, by four hundred and thirty feet wide. It is encircled by two aggers with a fosse between them. About the middle of each flank, and against the outer agger, there are traces of two semicircular platforms, the former uses of which are not clear. The southern one is the most apparent. Possibly, beacon fires may have been lighted upon them ; yet I offer this remark with hesitation. At the west, or small end, there is a sunk road two hundred feet long ; and beyond this a triangular area, enclosed by a continuation of the inner agger. Here was the original entrance. The whole length of the camp, including this approach, is upwards of seventeen hundred feet, or nearly one-third of a mile. Within the area are two ponds, which are rarely without water. A comparatively modern opening has been made at the east end. Near this, in the plantation outside, there is a large heap of dry flints. Though this cairn has been meddled with by the country people, I am not aware that any proper examination of it has been made. According to popular belief, a large amount of treasure is buried here, and it goes by the name of the "Treasury," or "Money Heap." It is reported that some "golden swords" were once found on this hill. If metal weapons were ever really found here, they were probably of bronze. Baxter, in his *Glossary*, imagines this station to have been the Tidertis of the anonymous Ravennas. Baxter's words are :—"Tidertis, apud anonymum, videtur esse Sidbury supra Sidmouth."

BELBURY CASTLE.—Belbury Castle (pl. 5, fig. 1) has been said to derive its name from Belor Belus, the great pagan deity of old. This station, which occupied the crown of a hill one mile and a half south-west from Ottery, was obliterated seventy years ago. On the last day of May 1861, I assisted in exploring the site. After some inquiry, we found a man seventy-nine years of age, called Samuel White, who lives at Castle farm, close by. He told us that when he was a boy the hill was entirely open heath ; that, seventy years ago, he and his late father were employed in leveling the entrenchments of the camp, then entire ; that they raised the earth in the interior with what they got at the encircling banks ; that there was a great ditch all round outside ; that the present road at the south and east

sides occupies the bottom of the former ditch ; that the camp was called Belbury or Belsbury Castle ; that he does not recollect any coins or other reliques having been found in the locality ; and that the field now standing in its place is called "Castle Field." This field is two hundred and thirty paces long by eighty wide. We examined the remarkable sunk road running through the plantation on the west side of the hill. The man said he could remember when it was perfect all the way northward to Streetway Head, and that, even now, he could trace it in many places.

HIGH PEAK HILL CAMP, AND HEMBURY FORT.—There are the remains of a camp on High Peak Hill, a mile and a half west of Sidmouth. In an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February 1849, I assigned this place as the probable site of the lost station Moridunum, mentioned in the Itineraries. This hill meets all the requirements recorded by ancient authors. It stands at the right distance from Durnovaria or Dorchester on the one hand, namely thirty-six Roman miles, and fifteen from Isca or Exeter on the other ; secondly, it is a commanding elevation, being above five hundred feet high ; and thirdly, it stands upon the sea coast. Hembury Fort (pl. 5, fig. 2) is a most remarkable work for strength, rather than for size, and cannot be looked at without admiration. As it tallies with the required distances mentioned above, it has also been pointed out as a likely candidate for the site of the missing station. My only difficulty with regard to Hembury Fort is, that it is not on the sea coast, as all the old writers agree that Moridunum was. The interior area of Hembury measures ten hundred and eighty-five feet long, three hundred and thirty broad at the north end, two hundred and eighty-five across the middle, and sixty-seven at the south end, which is almost a point. Beacon fires were apparently lighted here. Though this camp was probably constructed by the Britons, Roman remains have been met with in it. I should like to know what has become of the iron figure of Mars, said to have been found there ? Transversely across the area run two parallel ridges, whilst mounds and undulations are perceptible in other places. It has been suggested that these mark the quarters of the Roman troops. This splendid hill fortress meets all the requirements, except that it is twelve miles from the sea. However little stress some of

our much respected modern writers may place on the fact of maritime position when discussing this subject, I cannot help thinking that the opinions of our predecessors should not be lost sight of. Thus, we are told that Moridunum is a Latinization of the more ancient Celtic form *Mór-y-dun*: *mór*, the sea ; *y*, the article placed after its noun ; and *dun*, *dunum*, *din*, *dinas* (according to different dialects), a hill fortress or town. The learned Gale, in his edition of the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, remarks :—“Môr Britannis est mare, et super collem (dunum) juxta mare, eminent hoc oppidum.” Gough’s edition of *Camden* says :—“A town upon a hill by the sea.” Burton, in his *Commentary on Antoninus*, writes :—“The town on an hill by the sea.” Westcote, p. 244 :—“A town upon a hill by the sea.” Riddon :—“A town upon a hill by the sea,” and so on. I quote these passages to shew the prevailing opinion, but not to prove anything.

All that now remains of the camp that once crowned the cone of High Peak Hill, is a line of earthworks about two hundred and fifty feet long, of a bold character ; for in one place it measures fifty feet on the slope of the agger, and has a succession of aggers, one outside the other, at its northern extremity. A turn of the south end of the agger outwards, suggested an inclination in that direction ; and the repeated earthworks at the north end encouraged the idea that there may have been a strong entrance at that point. The traces of an old road against the south flank of the cone, may perhaps suggest an entrance there also. Beyond these data, I have nothing to go by. At the north end of the great agger, on the sea face of the cliff, about three feet down, there lies exposed to view a stratum of charcoal, doubtless the remains of beacon fires, subsequently buried by repairing the earthwork. Here are two pieces of the charcoal. One appears to be that of oak, and the other that of fir.

Coin.—The number of coins that have been at different times found on the beach near Sidmouth is somewhat remarkable ; and, perhaps, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of the older ones came from High Peak Hill Camp. A coin of Constantine was met with on the shore ; so also was this Bactrian coin. These I now exhibit. Also, this bronze Roman centaur (engraved in the *Gentleman’s*

Magazine for June 1843). It was found near the mouth of the river Sid in 1840. Roman occupation in the valley of Sidmouth is further shewn by the finding of a Claudius Gothicus at Mill Cross ; and a second brass of one of the Faustinas, dug up in the burial ground.

BUCKERELL KNAP.—Buckerell Knap (pl. 6, fig. 1) has all the appearance of an outpost connected with Hembury Fort. Knap is a word locally employed to signify a knoll, eminence, or hill. At the south point of this ridge there is a tumulus or Toot Hill, at one period surrounded by a ditch. Receding northwards by an ascending track, we come to three great ditches cut across the narrow ridge, and then attain a circular mound of about two hundred feet in diameter, encompassed by an earthwork. By these defences, the approach of an enemy would be impeded. This interesting place has scarcely been noticed by local inquirers. Some have spoken of a sacrificial stone as existing on this hill ; but no one on the spot could give any intelligence of it.

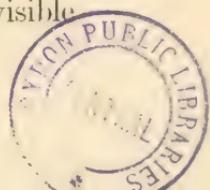
WOODBURY CASTLE.—Woodbury Castle is of very irregular form. It is believed to have been enlarged at some unknown period subsequent to its first construction. The northern part is the original enclosure. This is defended on its west side by two bold aggers, the inner one measuring forty-five feet on the slope. Through this runs the public road. This road is the old port way. The southern portion is that which has been afterwards added. I was told on the spot that three old coins were once turned up here ; but they were purchased by a lady, formerly of Woodbury, who left the county some years ago. The outworks of this camp are of a different character ; for they are composed of straight lines instead of curves. In July and August 1549, the Cornish rebels besieged Exeter, and the first lord Russell was sent down by the government on this emergency. Lord Russell had his troops posted on this hill, where a battle was fought. It is supposed that these works were thrown up at this time. The insurgents were dispersed, and the city relieved, on the 6th of August—a day still observed in Exeter.

Soldiers' Pits.—Two miles and a half north by east from Woodbury Castle, near the Halfway House on the Exeter and Sidmouth road, there is a series of pits carried in two

lines like a street, for three quarters of a mile across the wild hill. They lie a few hundred yards north of the two clumps of fir trees. Lest they should mislead antiquaries, for their appearance is very singular, I may mention that in the years 1803 and 1804, a division of General Simcoe's army was encamped here, and these pits mark the quarters of the married soldiers. They are called "Soldiers' Pits," and are well worth examining.

PIXIE GARDEN.—On Uffculme Down there formerly existed a small enclosure, believed to have been ancient, and known by the name of Pixie Garden (fig. 2). After some inquiry, I succeeded in finding an old man called Baker, who took me to the spot and described what he remembered of its former appearance before it had been destroyed. He spoke of the enclosure as having been a place about twenty or thirty yards square, surrounded by a hedge some two feet high ; and that a similar hedge ran from the middle of each side to the centre, where there was a "mump," as he called it, meaning a mound. Lysons speaks of a mound in each compartment, but this man did not. He had remembered the place well when he was a boy, and had often jumped over the hedges. About the beginning of the present century it was levelled by the cultivation of the land. If we take a sheet of the Ordnance Survey, No. 21, we see the words "Uffculme Down," and under them the word "Hillhead." Connect the last letters of these words by a line and about the middle of this line is the spot, now in the corner of a field near some fir trees. The former use of this enclosure has never been hazarded. But if we turn to Pennant's Scotch Tour, and read his account of the square enclosure—the fire in the centre—and the ancient ceremonies of the Bel-tein, as practised on the first of May each year,—we are encouraged to think that, perhaps, this place had been destined to similar rites.

DANES' CASTLE, EXETER.—Let us approach Exeter. In a field behind the county jail, there once stood a very interesting work, but it was destroyed by the ruthless hand of improvement, when the eastern reservoir for the water-works was made. It was known by the name of "Danes' Castle." This work consisted of a circular agger, thirty-eight paces, or about thirty-five yards, in diameter. I have paced it many times. Traces of a fosse were also visible



around it. As rain water used to lodge in the basin within, a gap in the agger had been made in the west side, and a gutter on the south, to drain it off. Jenkins, in his history of Exeter, thinks this work originally had been no more than a tumulus, but he does not appear to have carried popular opinion along with him. Its name implies that it was attributed to the Danes. Considering that these people several times besieged Exeter from the period of Alfred to that of Sweyne, I am inclined to think that it was a post of observation planted opposite the castle, for the purpose of watching the garrison.

UGBROOK PARK CAMP.—The camp in Ugbrook Park occupies the crown of a hill half a mile south-east from Chudleigh. Lysons is extremely brief; he merely says, “Camp at Ugbrook called Castle Dyke; irregular oval; greatest length about seven hundred and eighty feet, and breadth about five hundred and eighty.” From having paced it several times, I think his numbers tolerably correct. The labourers in the park called it “The Round Field.” It is encompassed by a single ditch and agger of bold dimensions, for it varies from forty-five to fifty feet on the slope. The agger is densely covered with forest trees. A track runs across the area from the south-west to the north-east; but there are also openings in the south-east side. Lysons does not mention the surrounding outworks, which are peculiar. Nearly concentric with the camp, and about three hundred yards in advance of it, runs a large curve. Towards the south-west the construction is almost as bold as that of the camp itself. Near the south there is an entrance, guarded by a re-entering zig-zag. At the south-east the works run down the hill to the head of the lake, doubtless for the procurement of water. They return again from the lake and then ascend the hill, flanking the eastern side of the camp. On the north and west the steep declivity of the ground towards Chudleigh serves as a natural defence. Possibly these outworks were thrown up during the period of the civil wars.

MILBER DOWN CAMP.—A mile from Newton Abbot, on the St. Marychurch road, lies Milber Down camp (fig. 3). Its square interior area and the small rectangular plot outside the south-east verge, have been ascribed to the Romans. The centre square measures one hundred and fifty-four

yards north-east and south-west, and one hundred and thirty-four yards in the opposite direction along the public road. Outside this nucleus, at the distance of fifty yards, runs a second circumvallation of similar construction, embracing it on all sides ; and as the corners of this are slightly rounded off, a somewhat circular shape is the result. Again, at fifty yards more, a third encompasses the second ; and as the corners of this too, and also the flanks, are still more rounded, the square figure is entirely lost. The inner and second are connected together by a ditch or covert way, at A, and on the south-east at B by a ditch and agger, of similar construction to the trenches of the camp itself. A part of this has been levelled for carts to pass through. The semicircular projection on the north-west suggests that the principal entrance was at this spot. Beyond all this, at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, runs another entrenchment, and outside its south-eastern flank is the small supposed Roman oblong square before alluded to. Near this, a little towards the south-west, are some traces in a field, but they are too faint to admit of accurate description. The large outer circle is believed to have been made in comparatively modern times, possibly during the period of the civil wars. William III had his artillery here soon after he had landed at Torbay in 1688. About the year 1845, nearly half a mile north-east from the camp, as I was told by one of the gamekeepers on the spot, a silver coin and some copper coins were found, as also some rusty knives and forks. These may, perhaps, have been of William III's time. Whilst the quadrangular interior area of this camp has been assigned to the Romans by Gough's *Camden* and other books, the circumscribing works, being more circular, have been given to the Danes. It is an old notion, however, now exploded, that works must necessarily have been made by the Danes, because they were circular.

DENBURY DOWN CAMP.—But Denbury Down camp, three miles south-west from Newton Abbot, has with more confidence been referred to these people, the word Denbury being supposed to signify Danes' Town. This station is an oval which encircles the crown of a steep igneous rock. The dimensions are about seven hundred feet long by five hundred broad. I confess, however, that owing to the density of the bushes and brambles, I could not make a very

accurate measurement. A large mound, apparently a tumulus, is seen near the middle of the area, and another near the west end. The remains of this hill fortress are the most perfect on the south side. The slope of the agger is here above forty-five feet. All the camps which I have noticed in this paper, have been examined and measured by myself.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF DOMESTIC MANNERS DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

BY THE REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.

THERE are no documents preserved to us from the middle ages that furnish such a clear insight into the habits of the period as the household accounts of some of the noble families. Unfortunately but few of these have escaped destruction, therefore we must regard what are left as very valuable memorials of the individuals themselves, personal portraits of them, as it were, as well as vivid records of their domestic life. There are few historical inquirers who are unacquainted with the curious information that is to be derived from the Misc. Rolls of king John, or from the Clause or Liberate Rolls both of his and the two succeeding reigns. The entries occurring upon these documents, taking only those of a single day, throw more light upon his private life, upon the manners and the customs of the age, than the most authentic chronicle existing. Every item reveals some fresh and singular fact, or else depicts an event that serves to impart animation and fresh interest to historic truth.

Nor will the accounts that have been treasured up amongst the public records, relating to the personal expenditure of individuals less known than those noble personages whose names are familiar to the world, be of inferior value in illustrating the inner life of the middle ages. Their social character is well pourtrayed in a document of this nature that has been preserved with others of a similar kind amongst the collections placed under the custody of the Master of the Rolls. As its existence has not hitherto, as far as I am aware, elicited any observation, it may be considered worth a careful examination. Other Rolls of an

analogous character will subsequently be noticed ; but this, being the earliest of the class, will take precedence.

The document in question embodies the daily expenditure of a certain Bogo de Clare, during the twelfth year of Edward I (1284). These accounts are written rather indistinctly upon three membranes of parchment, and are intitled, "Rotulus de Expensis Hospicij Bogonis de Clare." There is nothing to be gathered from the Roll itself to shew who this individual was. In the accounts that have been written by Dugdale and others concerning the noble family of the earls of Clare, no such person appears on the pedigree, or in any way connected with this illustrious house. The only individual of the name that has occurred is a Bogo de Clare, who by a charter in the nineteenth year of Edward I, had a grant of a fair at Tollerton in Yorkshire.¹ He is here mentioned as treasurer of the Cathedral of York. Can this ecclesiastic have been the person on whose behalf the charges now to be adduced were incurred ; or was he that Bogo de Clare who was fined £10,000 for arresting Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in the middle of Westminster Hall, as he was passing to the king's parliament ?² Leaving, however, this matter as one that cannot be satisfactorily determined, it may be remarked that he must have been some one of considerable wealth and influence. His style of living evidently was that of a man who had ample means. His being employed on public business with the king shows he was a man held in repute. The company he daily entertained whilst in London evinces Bogo de Clare to have lived with the greatest people of his time. His friendship with the noble family of the Mortimers and the Prior of Strigil, but more especially the former, would favour the supposition that he was a scion of the noble house already referred to. But all proof is wanting to shew it. We must be satisfied with the items in the account of his daily expenditure ; therefore let us pass on to their examination.

The Roll seems imperfect at beginning and end, as it abruptly commences with an entry upon Monday, the feast of the apostles Philip and James, at Ruthin, near which place Bogo de Clare must have been previously, and ends at Lincoln. In proof of this we find him at Conway on

¹ Calend. Rot. Chart., p. 121.

² I give the facts of this in the Appendix (C).

Tuesday following. The charges on this day were as follows, and may be taken as a fair sample of the expenses generally recurring.

"In bread two shillings ; in wine sixteen pence ; in eggs two pence halfpenny ; in butcher's meat two shillings and seven pence ; in goat's flesh three pence ; in potage one penny ; in salt a farthing ; in plaice for those who fasted eight pence ; in hay and forage twenty pence ; in one quarter of oats three shillings ; in salt fish two pence ; in wood three pence ; in candles two pence ; in mending a boat for conveying the harness over the water, and for carriage of the harness, for stabling, and for horses six pence ; in the dinner of the lord and family at Denbigh two shillings and a penny halfpenny.

The cortège of Bogo de Clare thus setting out from Ruthin on Monday, the feast of the apostles Philip and James, reached Conway on Tuesday, and thus proceeded on its route. They breakfasted at Bangor on Wednesday, and then went on to Carnarvon where they remained over Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. On Sunday they were again at Conway ; on Monday at Llanrwst (Lanagust) ; on Tuesday at Oswestre, and in the evening of the same day at Shrewsbury ; on Thursday at Newcastle-under-Lyne ; on Friday at Derby ; on Saturday at Nottingham ; on Sunday at Bentrefeld ; on Monday at Axholme in the Isle, in Lincolnshire. At this place the payment of four pence occurs for wood to dry the clothes of my lord on account of the great rains. "In bosco empto in Insula ad ignem faciendum ad siccandum pannos domini 4d. occasione magnæ pluviae."

On the Wednesday following, Bogo de Clare supped at Stowe ; from Thursday till the following Tuesday he remained at Lincoln. During this time the only entries on the accounts worth notice, are fresh water fish six pence ("in pisce de dulci aquâ"), and eight pence for ale.

On Whit Sunday, Walter de Reny, who seems to have been the confidential attendant of Bogo de Clare, left Lincoln to go to the king in Wales, and John de Wortley took his place and began to expend the money of the lord.

We have now an account of the cost of his journey, occupying fifteen days from his departure from Lincoln to Caernarvon, at the rate of two shillings a day. These ex-

penses were nominally incurred for the affairs of the lord with the king and queen, together with his sojourn at the same place, waiting the will and answer of the king and queen from the day of Pentecost, 1284.

On the two membranes containing these expenses there also occur the following items :

For parchment purchased for the rolls of account, and for making letters, six pence.

For six pounds of wax, of which were made candles and torches for the lord, two shillings and three pence. There is also a charge : For one piece of foot cloth for the feet.

On the return of Walter de Reyny from Caernarvon he resumed his place as the clerk of Bogo de Clare. The accounts proceed as follows :

Expenses of the house of Bogo de Clare made by the hands of Walter de Reyny 12, 13, Edward I (1284), from the feast of St. Gregory to the feast of St. Michael next following.¹

The first entry shews that Bogo de Clare set out from Thacham towards London, on Wednesday next after the translation of St. Richard of Cirencester, Abel, Walter de Reyny, Richard de Sallie, and others of the family being in company. They travelled with twenty horses, fourteen grooms, and a page (*unius pagani*). Without giving each entry of this day's expenditure, it may be sufficient to state that fourteen pence was paid for bread at Maidenhead where they supped ; ten pence halfpenny in wine, and the same sum for a pike (*lupus aquaticus*) ; a letter cost two shillings and a halfpenny ; beds five pence ; wood and charcoal seven pence three farthings.

Such facts as these are sufficiently tedious and apparently too trifling to occupy attention. The bare mention, however, of such seemingly small things does in reality appear necessary, because these minute details furnish the best evidence that can be desired of the social economy and the domestic habits of a person of considerable wealth, though he might have been below the class of nobility, at the period of Edward I. The illustrations annexed in the original will throw fresh light upon the manner of living when Bogo de Clare reached London.

On Saturday, the vigil of the Pentecost, as we find from

¹ See Appendix A.

the daily accounts, Bogo de Clare entertained a distinguished assembly of personages at dinner. Walter de Reyny has furnished us with their names, and even told us what was placed upon the table.

The company consisted of lord Edmund de Mortimer, lord William de Mortimer, lord Roger de Moubray, lord Robert de la Warde, lord John de Clinton, lord Roger de Molton, lord Henry de Kokington, lord Roger de Beltofte, Gilbert de Clifton, Henry de Ludlow, and others. The consumption of ale amounted to eleven shillings, which may in some measure be accounted for from the fact that there occurs no entry for wine. Of fish there was an abundant supply. They had congre, plaice, and soles, costing eight and sixpence ; pike and barbels seven shillings ; lampreys six and eight pence ; besides "morue" and stockfish. The expenses of this entertainment, together with the necessary recurring cost of the family, came to fifty-five shillings and eight pence.

On the following day all the preceding guests, with the exception of lord Roger de Moubray, were again invited. This being the Feast of Pentecost ten sextaries of wine were drunk ; they had beef, veal, white pudding, two sheep from the store at Dorking, geese, kids, fowls, and pigeons, together with all the essential parts of a good dinner. Nor were forty horses forgotten, for besides their provender, their hay and their oats, there is an entry of a pudding for them, costing two pence halfpenny, if the word "sagimen" admits of this meaning.

The hospitality of Bogo de Clare was continued on the Monday, when Henry de Cockington and William de Lamborn, clerks of the exchequer, and others sat down to a most bountiful entertainment.

Also on Tuesday and Thursday in the same week, Bogo de Clare received his friends at dinner. We find amongst them Roger de Aspal, the prior of Strigil, and Roger de Moubray. On the Sunday following Roger de Moubray and his whole family dined with him. They were his guests again on Monday, together with two merchants from Germany. Again we have an entry of mutton and pork from Dorking. On Tuesday many of the court were at dinner, and in the evening Bogo de Clare departed from town towards Brentford.

From the repeated notices these daily accounts give of the visits of the de Mortimers to Bogo de Clare, from the mention of his acquaintance with the prior of Strigil, and Henry de Ludlow who was the builder of Stokesay, it seems very probable that he was some connection of the great earls of Clare, who held extensive possessions contiguous to those of these distinguished people.

On the back of this expense roll, there occurs, amongst others, the following curious entries. For a chaplet of flowers, bought for John de Belechamp on the day of Pentecost, four-pence halfpenny. For two rings, bought and given to lady Margery la Rouse and her daughter by the precept of the lord at London, four and sixpence. For one hat of felt, bought for the lord and given to Edmund Mortimer, twenty pence. On Sunday the feast of the Holy Trinity, in an oblation of the lord Edmund de Mortimer and his lady and their knights and companions of the lord at London, according to the precept of the lord, eightpence. In alms, given at the same time, two-pence. For a chest, bought to hold the spoons of the lord, sixpence; and paid to William Pilk the jester of Sarum, two shillings.

With these entries the analysis of these accounts would naturally close, but a small rider is attached to them of so singular a nature, that it is quite worth giving it in a translated form. I am not aware of any statement in the least degree similar. We have already seen that when Bogo de Clare despatched Walter de Reyny on his business to the king and queen at Carnarvon, a certain John de Wortley was appointed to take charge of the household accounts. We have now to notice one concerning the funeral expenses of this useful official, who died in the service of his master, and who was buried at his expense.¹

This document gives a full account of the ceremonies and the charge of a funeral of an individual in the middle ranks of life; he may be called a clerk or secretary. It, therefore, affords a clear insight into the customs attending the interment of this class of people. Judging from the entire cost, which came to as much as three pounds, three and four-pence, there was as much money uselessly spent on his obit, as would have to be borne by survivors at the present day, though the money passed according to medi-

¹ See Appendix B.



aeval usage chiefly into the hands of ecclesiastics or inferior people connected with the church ; whereas at present a most reprehensible feeling of false respect for the dead shows itself by yielding to the extravagant ideas of an undertaker. Let us, however, examine the different items as they stand, when the poor clerk of Bogo de Clare was buried.

Paid to twelve clerks, saying the psalter for the soul of John de Worteley, eighteen pence ; of whom six took twelvepence because they said it both day and night, and the rest took sixpence because they said it only by night. Also paid for five wax lights for the monastery of the Holy Trinity at London, for the soul of the aforesaid, by the hands of Walter de Reyny, at the command of the lord. Also two wax lights for the Friars Preachers ; two for the brethren of the Augustines ; one for the church of All Saints, and one for the church of St. Mary Magdalene. Also to Aunger, the lay sacristan, according to his right, fourpence. Also to the clerk of the parish, for twice beating the whole of the bells, twopence. Also for tolling the great bell of St. Paul's, sixpence. Also to the common porter of the bell for divulging his death, sixpence. For bread bought and given for the soul of the foresaid John, by the hands of Walter the clerk, ten shillings. In carriage of wheaten bread from the corn at Dorking, to wit three quarters, and sixpence for carriage of the bread. For carrying wax lights inside the church, fourpence. For carrying the coffin in which the body was deposited, one penny. In making the sepulchre, fourpence.

Also for half a hundred of wax, twenty-three shillings and sixpence. For making it into square wax lights, and for the driver, and for the horse, and for the carriage of wax lights, and for bringing the herse, in all, four and fourpence. For incense, threepence ; earthen jars, a penny. For a chest, sixpence. Also for a bed brought for Jordan to lie upon before John de Wortley for six nights, sixpence. Also for a certain woman from Swaneschamp keeping him by the command of the lord, two shillings. Also in an oblation the day of his death, seventeen shillings and fourpence. .

ILLUSTRATIONS.

APPENDIX A.

Expensæ domus Bogonis de Clare factæ per manus Waltere de Reyny,
12, 13, Edw. I.

Expensæ domus factæ per manus Walteri de Reyny a festo Sancti Gregorii, A.D. 1284, usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequent.

Die Mercurii proxima post festum translationis Sancti Ricardi Cicesensis, codem die recessit dominus Bogo de Thacham versus London, præsentibus dominis Abel, W. de Reyni, R. de Sullie et aliis de familia. In pane ad cenam apud Maidenhid 14*d.*; in vino 10*½d.*, unus sextarius de Stauro de Thacham. In cervisia 12*½d.*; in uno lupo aquatico 10*½d.*; in menuse 10*¼d.*; in ovis 6*d.*; in salsa 2*d.*; in feno pro 20 equis 10*d.*; in uno quarterio uno bussello avenarum emptarum 2*s.* 8*½d.*; item de stauro de Thacham 2 busselli et dimidium de remanenti carectariorum qui cariaverunt carnes de Retherfeld; in lectis 2*s.* 0*½d.*; in candelis 5*d.*; in bosco et carbone 7*¾d.*; in potu domini per viam una cum pane empto pro equis apud Reding 12*¾d.*; in vadiis 14 garcionum et unius pagani 1*s.* 10*d.*

Summa 15*s.* 1*½d.*

Die Sabbati in Vigilia Pentecostes, Dominus ibidem (London), præsentibus Domino Edmundo de Mortuo Mari, Domino Willielmo de Mortuo Mari, Domino Rogero de Moubray, Domino Roberto de la Warde, Domino Johanne de Clinton, Domino Rogero de Molton, Domino Henrico de Kokington, Domino Rogero de Beltofte Gilberto de Cliftone, Henrico de Lodelowe et aliis. In pane 6*s.*, vinum de stauro decem sextarii et dimidium; in cervisia 11*s.*; in butiro 3*d.* Coquina—in morue et Stocfis 3*s.* 10*d.*; in congre, playz, et soles 8*s.* 6*d.*; in lupis aquaticis et barbellis 7*s.*; in lampredis 6*s.* 8*d.*; in capriolis marinis pro infirmis 2*d.*; in salsa 7*½d.*; in 4 libris amigdalarum 6*d.*; in potagio $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.*; in sale 2*d.*; in cepo 1*¾d.*; in portagio 1*d.* Marescalcia—in feno pro 39 equis 2*s.* 5*¼d.*; in prebenda 2 quarteria et dimidium avenæ de stauro, et Boscus de Stauro; in lectis 4*d.*; in 4 libris candelæ de cepo 7*d.*; in litera 2*s.* 1*½d.*; in cyrpis 20*d.*; in vadiis 27 garcionum et 2 paganorum 3*s.* 6*½d.*; item 15 ferra ferrata de stauro

Summa 55*s.* 8*d.*

Die dominica in festo Pentecostes præsentibus domino Edmundo de Mortuomari et omnibus prædictus excepto domino Rogero de Moubray. In pane 8*s.*; item vinum de Stauro 10 sextarii; item cervisia de Stauro; in cyphis 8*d.*; Coquina—in bove 8*s.* 6*d.*; in vitulo 2*s.* 2*d.*; in lardo 2*d.*; in albo sagimine 3*d.*; item duo multones de stauro de Dorkinge 3*s.*; in aucis 5*s.* 10*d.*; in capriolis 2*s.* 8*d.*; in pullis 10*d.*; in columbis 2*s.*; in lacte 5*¼d.*; in potagio $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; in salsa 4*d.*; in pane pro coquina 3*d.*;

10

in portagio 1*d.* Marescalcia—in feno pro 40 equis 2*s.* 6*d.*; in præbenda 2 quarteria et dimidium et dimidium busselli de stauro; in bosco et carbone 6*s.* 8*d.*; in lectis 4*d.*; in vadiis 25 garcionum et 2 paganorum 3*s.* 4*½d.*; in sagimine pro equis 2*½d.*

Summa 48*s.* 3*d.*

Die Lunæ sequente, Dominus ibidem, præsente Domino Henrico de Cokington, Domino Willielmo de Lamborne clericis de sackario et aliis. In pane 6*s.*; vinum de stauro 8 sextarii; in cervisia 3*s.* 6*d.* Coquina—in bove 5*s.* 6*d.*; in vitulo 14*d.*; in carne porcina 3*½d.*; item dimidium porci de Dorkinge de stauro 20*d.*; in caponibus 6*s.*; in columbis et pullis 3*s.*; in ovis 11*d.*; in pastillis faciendis 10*½d.*; in pane pro coquina 2*d.*; in lacte ½*d.*; in potagio 1*¼d.*; in salsa 3*¾d.*; in portagio 1*d.* Maresecalcia—in feno pro 40 equis 2*s.* 6*d.*; in prebenda 2 quarteria et dimidium, et dimidium busselli de stauro. Boscus et carbo de stauro; in lectis 5*d.*; item 13 ferra ferrata de stauro; in vadiis 26 garcionum et 3 paganorum 3*s.* 6*d.*; in candela alba 1*¾d.*

Summa 36*s.* 1*¾d.*

APPENDIX B.

Expense circa } Liberati duodecim clericis dicentibus Salterum pro
Obitum Johannes } Anima Johannes de Wrteley 18*d.*; de quibus sex
de Wrteleye. } capiunt 12*d.* quià dixerunt per diem et noctem, et
caeteri 6*d.* per solomodo per noctem. Item liberatae 5 cireæ monasterio
Sanctæ Trinitatis London, pro anima dicti Johannis de Wrteleye per
manus Walteri de Reyny, præcepto domini; item liberatae 2 cireæ
fratribus prædicatoribus London; item 2 cireæ fratribus minoribus
London; item 2 cireæ fratribus Sancti Augustini London; item 1 cireæ
Ecclesiæ Omnia Sanctorum, London; item Ecclesiæ Mariæ Magdalenaæ,
London 1 cerca; item liberati *Maglar* Sanctæ Trinitatis, London, 4*d.*
item Aungero Sacristicie laico pro jure suo 6*d.*; item clericu parochiæ pro
glassio bis pulsato 2*d.*; item pro magna campana Sancti Pauli, London,
pulsanda 6*d.*; item vulgari portitori campanæ ad devulgandum ejus
obitum 6*d.*; item in pane empta data pro anima dicti Johannis per
manus Walteri Clerici 19*s.*; in portagio panis frumenti de frumento de
Dorking scilicet 3 quarteriorum et in prædicto pane portando 6*d.*; item
in portagio cereorum infra ecclesiam 4*d.*; in portagio cistæ in qua
corpus depositum fuerat 1*d.*; in sepulchro faciendo 4*d.*; item in dimidio
centum ceræ emptæ 23*s.* 6*d.*; item in factura prædictæ ceræ in cereos
quadratos et pro limmone et pro quadam hercia conducta et pro portagio
cereorum et herciae conductæ in omnibus 4*s.* 4*d.*; item in incenso 3*d.*
item pro ollis luteis 1*d.*; item pro cista 6*d.*; item pro uno lecto con-
ducto pro Jordano jacente coram eo per sex noctes 6*d.*; item cuidam
mulieri de Swaneschamp custodienti eum præcepto domini 2*s.*; item in
oblatione die obitus sui 17*s.* 4*d.*

Summa 63*s.* 4*d.*

APPENDIX C.

In the Rolls of Parliament of 18 Edward I. occur the following notices :

Bogo de Clare was attached to answer the king on a charge of having cited the earl of Cornwall on his way to Parliament, which being a direct contempt against the king, he had to pay £10,000. In defence he alleged his ignorance of the extreme nature of the offence, and it was afterwards decided that he should be confined in the Tower of London during his majesty's pleasure; but bail being found for him he was set free after paying another heavy fine to the king and one to the Church, which was remitted from £1000 to £100.

On another occasion he was embroiled with one Johannes le Waleys, inasmuch as the latter had entered his house and forcibly taken away certain documents which incriminated Bogo de Clare, and caused him to be imprisoned on a charge of contempt for the king and church. Soon after he was confronted with the king, but the final hearing seems to have been adjourned *sine die*.

ON THE COINS OF URICONIUM.

BY BEALE POSTE.

THE name of Uriconium, referring as it does to an ancient city of renown, is found mentioned on coins ; and forms a subject which requires to be duly noticed and examined. The topic is one of interest ; and as there are three or four varying types of them, it is my purpose briefly to describe them, in order that it may be understood what they are. Further, as this subject must be new to many, and indeed to most persons, I have to make the prefatory remark that these coins, which are all in gold, are of that class which is called "ancient British;" that the inscriptions on them are in the Celtic language, in a dialect much resembling the modern Welsh or Irish ; and that the word TASCIO which is read on them implies the same as the Latin word IMPERATOR, in the sense, not of emperor, but as ruler or commander merely, and is frequently so applied to Cunobeline, a powerful king in Britain of that day, mentioned by ancient historians ; and who, it may be inferred from these moneys, was recognized and acknowledged by this city as its sovereign. Further, that the name of the place is expressed on the coins by the word "Vricon" and its varieties :

and also that no other inscription has been hitherto found on any coin of Uriconium beyond variations of the above two words. I must now proceed to the description of the several types hitherto known of these moneys, with the readings of their inscriptions, to which I must request attention; as descriptions of coins, of course, consist of somewhat precise details, to make them available for historical purposes.

The varieties, then, or to speak more technically, the types of the coins of the city of Uriconium, as far as at present known, are four in number; and they have this peculiarity, that though the lettering somewhat differs, the representations on them are invariably the same.

Having noticed this, it may be observed, that the workmanship of all the specimens is somewhat roughly executed, though certainly the figures are sketched out with considerable spirit. The obverses or front faces of the coins display a horseman with shield and helmet galloping rapidly to the left, holding some implement in his right hand, probably a carnyx or Celtic war trumpet, with which the leaders of the ancient Britons were often provided. He is looking back, and appears to be waving to his men to follow on. The reverse delineates a row of five spears, placed upright against apparently some framework; and from one side of these projects another representation of the Celtic carnyx, or war trumpet. In all these specimens there is delineated a double tablet, terminated at each end in two peaks, and placed in front of the row of spears. On this double tablet the inscription is inserted in two lines; one word in each.

The variations of the inscription are singular, as though only the same two words occur; yet the orthography of them is not always uniform, nor the position of the letters always corresponding in the different specimens.

The other details of the types may now be proceeded with, which are as follows.



1. Obverse the same as has been just before described; reverse also the same as has been just spoken of, and the words ^{TAS TO} _{URICON} in two lines. This coin was first published by

the rev. Mr. Trafford Leigh in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iii, for 1841, p. 152; and is now, or a similar one, in the British Museum collection.

II. A coin engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1821, p. 66. Obverse and reverse as before; and on the latter the legend ^{TASCIOV}_{RICON}. It is described as then lately found near Epping. This coin is evidently very nearly the same as Ruding's type which he refers to in his *Annals of the Coinage*, but does not insert, reading TASCIO VRIOON: the difference apparently being the misreading of one of the letters of the second word, and the variation in the placing of the letter v.

III. The coin in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, reading ^{TASCI}_{RICON}.

IV. The coin in the museum at Rouen in France, reading TASSIE_{RICON}. This is engraved in Lambert's *Numismatique du Nord-ouest de la France*, plate xi, fig. 21, and is briefly referred to at p. 146 of the work.

With regard to this last coin, though given on good authority, I cannot but suspect the correctness of the reading. The o, somewhat obliterated, if such were the case, may have been mistaken for an E: likewise as there is no instance of a double s in the word TASCIO, the c, like the o, may have been misread. In short, the orthography TASSIE too much approaches to the form of a modern French word.

There is no question but that the name of the city of Uriconium is really of occurrence in these five foregoing coin inscriptions. It is true that in three of the instances the name is in the form of Ricon and not of Uricon; but of this no great account need be made.

Uriconium, as a city of the Cornavii, a British state lying between the Ordovices and the Cangi, might be supposed, of course, to have belonged to the Iceni, and probably usually did; but the coins from their workmanship, which is essentially different from those of the Iceni, seem best assigned to Cunobeline, particularly as he was accustomed to strike moneys inscribed with the names of places which were, as it would appear, not within his usual dominions; as those ostensibly with the names of Segontium, Huiecum and Solidunum. The chances of war may, therefore, have thrown those cities, wherever they may have been situated, temporarily or permanently within his power, as may have

been the case with Uriconium ; which may have occasioned the somewhat transient, and rather rare appearance of their names on his moneys.

It may be concluded that there is not sufficient reason to regard these coins of Uriconium as "autonomous," which is almost the only remaining conjecture respecting them. They may be pronounced to be not "autonomous," there not appearing to be the occurrence of other types of Uriconium. In fact, they neither exist in number nor variety.

With regard to the weight of these coins ; we have only that particular supplied with respect to two of them ; viz., No. i, which is eighty-four grains, a common weight with Cunobeline's gold coins ; and No. ii, which is given us as high as one hundred and thirty grains : a weight which may remind us of the proximity of gold mines, which it is believed did formerly exist in North Wales.

I must leave all further discussions and inquiries respecting these coins to others, it having been solely my purpose on the present occasion to state the fact of the existence of these moneys of Uriconium, and to give a correct description of them, and some circumstantial details.

I cannot conclude without referring to the very spirited and patriotic explorations now proceeding at Wroxeter, on the site of the ancient city of Uriconium. These excavations, under the guidance, as they at present are, of talent and skill, may be looked upon as calculated to supply much insight into the manners and customs ; and even, perhaps, by means of inscriptions, into the history of past ages. It is very possible, also, that they may furnish materials of a numismatical nature ; and such as may either augment or correct the details of the coins of Uriconium given as above.

British Archaeological Association.

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AUGUST 19TH TO 24TH INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19.

THE officers and committee, together with numerous visitors, assembled at the Guildhall, Exeter, and were received by F. Franklin, esq., the mayor, and corporation. The mayor, addressing the president, said : "On behalf of myself and the corporation, I beg to assure you that your present visit to Exeter affords us sincere pleasure, and we offer to your Association our cordial welcome to this ancient city. I trust that your visit will be the means of calling public attention to the importance of your inquiries. I venture to hope that the Association will find objects of antiquarian interest in this city and neighbourhood to meet their expectations, and such as to add to your stores, and contribute to your entertainment."

The mayor then invited the company to partake of some refreshment, which had been laid out in the council chamber. The mayor gave the health of sir Stafford Northcote, and drank to the prosperity of the Association, which was responded to by the president, who proposed the mayor and corporation of Exeter. J. Gidley, esq., the town clerk, then presented to the president, from R. S. Cornish, esq., late mayor of Exeter, for the library of the Association, a *Description of the Guildhall, Exeter*, by the rev. George Oliver, D.D., and Pitman Jones, esq. This is a carefully drawn up and trustworthy description of the building in which the members and visitors were now assembled. The late Dr. Oliver may justly be regarded as the antiquary of the county of Devon, and the Association looked forward with much anxiety to meeting him on this occasion, in the interest of which he had expressed himself warmly, and caused his name to be placed on the committee. In this hope, however, they were doomed to be disappointed. Dr. Oliver had, for some time past, been in bad health, and his decease occurred on the 23rd March, at the advanced age of eighty-one. He will be long remembered and venerated by antiquaries, and his works, especially the *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, consulted by all students of, and inquirers into, Devonshire history. From the researches of Dr. Oliver

and his *collaborateur*, we learn that the Guildhall invariably occupied its present situation; for it appears in a deed of the thirteenth century, that an annual rent of seven shillings was granted to St. Nicholas's priory, from certain lands and shops in the High-street, near the Guildhall, *de terris et sellis in magno vico juxta Gialdam*. Other deeds of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries confirm this opinion. The present structure, according to Hoker,¹ was rebuilt in 1466, and Thomas Calwodclegh, "a gentleman born and learned," who governed Exeter at that time, "paid in monies, which were employed in building of the front and chapel of the Guildhall."

The chapel was dedicated to St. George, and St. John the Baptist. At the suppression of chantries, soon after the accession of Edward VI, the plate belonging to this chapel was sold to Mr. Smythe, Dec. 3, 1547, for the sum of £22 : 5 : 8. An inventory of the plate, vestments, and ornaments belonging to this chapel, under the date of Oct. 10, 1537, is inserted in the *Chamber Act Book*, No. 1, p 1. This book also acquaints us that on Nov. 2, 1592, "it was agreed that the forepart of the Guildhall, now in a ruinous and decayed state, shall be re-edified at the city's expense." In April, 1594, John Sampford was appointed overseer of the building, and in the month of October following, Mr. Receiver was directed, with all convenient speed, "to planche, plaster, glase, and finishe the forepart of the Guildhall." The Guildhall is certainly much disfigured by the present confused and tasteless substitute. The building itself is a bold structure, measuring 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and 25 feet in breadth. The roof is well formed. Around are the armorial bearings of the city, several of the mayors of Exeter, and some of the companies. There are also portraits of several distinguished individuals, among the chief of whom may be mentioned sir Charles Pratt, lord high chancellor in 1766, by Hudson; Benjamin Heath, LL.D., town clerk of Exeter for fourteen years, by Pyne; general Monk, earl of Albemarle, K.G., high steward of the city in 1662, by sir Peter Lely; John Rolle Walters, esq., uncle of lord Rolle, who represented Exeter in Parliament, from 1754 to 1776, by Leahy; George II, by Hudson; John Tuckfield, esq., the founder of Exeter Hospital, and M.P. for Exeter 1745 to 1776; the princess Henrietta, duchess of Orleans, the daughter of Charles I, who was born at Bedford House, in Exeter, June 16, 1644, and baptised in the cathedral, July 21 following. This portrait is by sir Peter Lely, and was presented to the corporation in 1672, by Charles II; Henry Blackall, painted in 1833. He was thrice mayor of Exeter, and died in 1845.

The council chamber presents also some portraits of interest, among which are William Hurst, aged ninety-six, A.D. 1568; sir Thos. White, aged eighty-three, who was the founder of St. John's college, Oxford,

¹ MS. Hist.

and died in 1566; John Hoker, first chamberlain of Exeter, and member of parliament for the city, he died at the age of seventy-six, in A.D. 1601; Thos. Jefford, a wealthy dyer, knighted by James II on presenting the congratulatory address on the birth of the prince of Wales, commonly called the Pretender; Hugh Crossing, the founder of St. John's hospital; sir Benjamin Oliver, knighted by Charles II in 1670.

The city swords and cap of maintenance were exhibited, and are of considerable interest and in fine preservation. Edward IV presented a sword to the city in 1470, upon occasion of his visit to Exeter. Henry VII, upon his visit in 1497, did the like, and also presented a cap of maintenance, for the vigorous resistance of the citizens made to Perkin Warbeck's army. The act book under date May 13, 1624, records the order "to provide a new hat for the sword bearer, either at London or elsewhere, of a comely fashion, as it is now used in London or Bristow. Our late vice-president and excellent antiquary sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, K.H., examined the swords and declared them to be the only ones of ancient English monarchs in existence. The sword given by Edward IV has a mounting of the time of Charles II, and that of Henry VII was altered in the reign of James I, one of his coins appearing on the pommel. There were also exhibited four silver collars worn by the sergeant at mace, and silver gilt maces of the time of George I, carried before the mayor on court days. From the Guildhall the president, officers, and members of the Association, accompanied by the mayor and corporation, proceeded to the Royal Public Rooms, fitted up for the occasion, and there were displayed numerous antiquities, drawings, rubbings of brasses, etc.

The president then proceeded to deliver the introductory address.
(See pp. 1-21, *ante.*)

At the conclusion of the address, Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., rose to announce the programme of the proceedings, and said he was sure they would all agree with him that they would be wanting in feelings of gratitude were they not, before departing to view the antiquities of Exeter, to express the deep sense of obligation they entertained to their learned and honourable president, and to offer to him their most unqualified thanks for his very learned, interesting and varied discourse. At the present time it was not desirable to enter on any of those topics which had been so admirably alluded to; no doubt opportunities would be afforded the Association for that purpose in the course of the present congress. He only hoped that those suggestions which had been so ably put forward by their president on the present occasion would be duly responded to. Col. Harding, whose knowledge of this locality and deep acquaintance also with subjects of antiquity were well known, had kindly volunteered to be their guide to the principal antiquities of Exeter, prior to assembling at the reception kindly offered by the Devon and Exeter Institution. He

was quite sure they would carry a hearty vote of thanks to their president by acclamation.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said: I have only one word to say in offering my best thanks for your kind reception of me. When you get a programme this evening you will see that the business of to-morrow includes a visit to Pynes; and I shall take it as a particular favour if those present will do me the honour to join in the visit. I am afraid I have no antiquities to show you; but, at the same time, I do hope—and I specially address the mayor and corporation of this city—that all present will do me the favour on their way to Crediton to-morrow of coming out to Pynes to luncheon.

The association and visitors then proceeded under the guidance of colonel Harding to view some of the objects of antiquarian interest in this city. They passed the spot where the old East-gate stood, finally removed in 1784, and, as col. Harding imagines, St. Bartholomew's chapel also, which was annexed to it on the north side. The principal stones taken from this building were disposed of in erecting some houses on the north side of High-street, where the statue of Henry VII was likewise placed, which before had occupied a niche in the outer side of East-gate. A clock was also at the same time removed to St. John's hospital. This gate, together with the chapel of St. Bartholomew, fell to the ground 26th September, 1459, but it was shortly rebuilt, and we find the chapel also in existence a few years after, 1481. During the attack of the rebels under Perkin Warbeck, in 1497, they succeeded in entering this gate and penetrating as far as Castle-lane, and it was so much shaken by this occurrence that, in 1511, the chamber resolved to rebuild it, and a contract was entered into with Robert Poke, of Thorverton, mason, for £28. The party now proceeded to the Castle-yard, whence they viewed Rougemont.

This castle was anciently the residence of the West Saxon kings, then of the earls of Cornwall. It was once a Roman station. Athelstan rebuilt the citadel after its partial demolition by the Danes, but the castle fell with the town in 1003. History is silent as to the existence of another castle until the conquest, when William the Conqueror, in 1067, planted a strong citadel on Rougemont as a check to the inhabitants who had often risen against him. William Rufus embellished the buildings. Richard, son of Baldwin de Brioniis, baron of Oakhampton and viscount Devon, was the first castellan, and the office remained in the family till Henry III annexed it to the earldom of Cornwall. Queen Anne leased the site of the castle, with the lands and buildings within its walls, to trustees for the benefit of the county of Devon, which grant was confirmed by George I, and the fee of the same was granted in trust by the 13 George III, under the ancient yearly rent of £10, payable at Michaelmas to the inheritor of the duchy of Cornwall. An old building in the

castle yard has lately been cleared away from the north side of Rougemont, and the ground levelled; a Norman arch has been restored, as well as the base and other portions of the tower, and two small windows on the south have been opened; so that the ancient ivy crowned tower can be viewed under favourable circumstances.

Entering the grounds of R. S. Gard, esq., M.P., the Association had an opportunity of tracing the course of the walls, to the square tower overlooking Northernhay, and which has lately been rebuilt, as far as possible with the old materials. The tower was in a dangerous condition. From its summit, and from the higher portions of the grounds of Rougemont, views were obtained of the old city, the cathedral forming a prominent feature in the scene. The Association descended into Northernhay, where the line of the castle wall—the base of which appeared to be of Roman construction—now gave place to that of the city, tracing which they were brought to Athelstan's palace, in Paul-street, now occupied by Mr. Drake. The northern gate was passed, and the boundary wall followed into Bartholomew-yard, to the spot where old Allhallows-on-the-Walls stood, till taken down at the time of rebuilding Exe-bridge. The present edifice of that name was erected in 1845. The party next proceeded to Exe-bridge and were shown where the old open arches stood (of which good drawings were exhibited at the Royal Public Rooms). Thence they proceeded to the old church of St. Mary Steps, and viewed its Anglo-Saxon font and quaint clock; a dial represents the four seasons; above the dial three figures, said to represent Henry VIII and two of his courtiers. The centre figure, by a nod of the head, indicates the hour, and the other two strike the half-hours. These figures have obtained the appellation of Matthew, the miller, and his two sons, and, even to the present time, the lower orders sometimes called the church “Matthew's Church.” This has given rise to some doggerel lines:—

“ Matthew the Miller 's alive,
Matthew the Miller is dead;
For every hour in Westgate Tower,
Matthew the Miller nods his head.”

It is said that thirteen pictures, and the tabernacle belonging to this church, were burnt by order of queen Elizabeth's visitors, in St. Peter's churchyard, September, 1559. Water-gate, also in this neighbourhood, was taken down. Allhallows-on-the-Walls formerly stood on Fore-street hill. It formed a part of the town wall, and on the low tower was placed a culvereen, which so annoyed Cromwell's battery, that when the city was taken the church was destroyed. The vaults of the church are now under Mr. Westlake's shop, and under the pavement. The remains were removed when the new bridge were built, and the street thrown open, in 1778. St. Bartholomew's churchyard was consecrated by bishop

Hall, 24th August, 1637. Here formerly stood a religious establishment belonging to the Franciscan order, which was removed to Colleton crescent between 1292 and 1307. From this cause the place has obtained the name of Friernhaye. There is a stone on which there is an inscription, stating that the churchyard was opened during the mayoralty of Roger Mallack, merchant. In Mallack's room, in Gandy-street, over the fireplace, are, on the left, the arms of the deceased impaling bishop Hall's, in the centre, the city arms, and on the other side, those of "the merchant adventurers of this city trading with France," and incorporated by the queen's charter, 17th June, 2nd of Elizabeth, 1559. They were first incorporated by Philip and Mary, and the special grant was made in consideration of the faithful services of the mayor and citizens of Exeter in the several reigns of Henry VII and Edward VI, in defending the city against the rebels. South-gate was a massive building of hewn stone. The interior arch of the gateway being circular, Dr. Stukeley is of opinion that it was of Roman construction. From a very early age it was the city prison. The entrance to the old church of Holy Trinity was by the side of this gate. The next progress was to where the old water-gate stood; after which col. Harding conducted the party to St. Mary Major's, and shewed where the palace-gate was at the entrance of the close and looked into the palace.

The party then prepared for the *table d'hôte* at the London Inn, sir S. H. Northcote, bart., presiding.

At nine o'clock the Association, in pursuance of an invitation received from the Devon and Exeter Institution, proceeded to the building in the cathedral-yard, when a *soirée* was given. Lord Clifford, president of the Institution, welcomed the Association. The attendance was numerous, and the library well arranged for the purpose. After refreshments had been partaken of, Mr. C. E. Davis, F.S.A., read a paper on "Exeter Cathedral," preparatory to its examination on the morrow, a full account of which will appear with extended illustrations in the second volume of the *Collectanea Archæologica* of the Association.

Mr. Pettigrew said he could not express in terms too warm their obligations to Mr. Davis for the time and trouble which he had devoted to the preparation of his paper. Mr. Davis had done violence to his own feelings in reading it this evening—and had only done so at urgent solicitation to prevent disappointment—because he felt that he could not do justice to the subject without having the cathedral before him, to illustrate the details, and to afford explanations on various points, which could not otherwise be adverted to.

Mr. Davis endorsed what the previous speaker had said as to the desirability of the paper being read with the cathedral before them. He considered it one of the finest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture; and it was a pity those who had not understood its beauties hitherto should not learn to appreciate them.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said he might be permitted first to add his testimony as to the interest and importance of the paper which Mr. Davis had read, and at the same time to say that it certainly struck him on hearing one or two passages that he ought to have had the opportunity of having the details referred to before him on the spot. It was easy enough to give a general and loose description, which should be at once instructive and interesting; but if it were necessary to go into details, the only way in which they could be made thoroughly comprehensible and really interesting to persons who knew but little about the subject, was to have the object before them. The lecturer ought to have been permitted to point out and show at once what he referred to. As an old Roman poet says, "What we hear through the ear comes much more sluggishly on the mind than what we see with the eyes. They represent faithfully that which is intended to be pointed out." What they had heard was only enough to stimulate the curiosity which had drawn them all together; on the morrow they would receive a truthful description of details, which Mr. Davis would be able to point out more fully. But what he rose to say was that he was quite certain the Association, which he had the honour to represent amongst them, would not be satisfied if he did not undertake as their president to return their warm and hearty thanks to the president and committee of the Devon and Exeter Institution for their kind and hospitable reception. Of course, the Association was perfectly well aware that when they met in this city they should find many persons who would sympathise more or less with the pursuits to which the Association devoted themselves. It was also an additional and great advantage that they should find, not only individuals scattered here and there in an isolated manner who would take an interest in their pursuits, but whole societies here, formed to promote purposes cognate to those of this Association. He was sure this Institution, as his lordship, who so worthily presided over it, had kindly promised, would assist and cooperate with the Association. What he specially hoped was that the Archaeological Association would leave a trace of its work, that it might be able to leave this work if only just begun and taken in hand by this Institution and other societies; so that they might look on the great work in process of formation—the history and antiquities of Devonshire. If that work were energetically undertaken, and both societies worked cordially together, the result would be the production of several volumes to fill the vacancies on their shelves. He said "both societies," because he claimed an interest in this Institution as well as in the Archaeological Association. He hoped they should be able to collect a good deal that was old, and to produce a great deal that was new, for the purpose of filling one of their empty shelves with volumes which would be really interesting—a settled and well-considered history. He again returned their thanks for the kind hospitality of the members of this Institution.



Sir Stafford then stated that Mr. Dawson kindly exhibited a model of the old well of St. Sid, which had been lately destroyed in the progress of the works of the new railway. This well was recorded in early histories, and was an interesting relict. A Devonshire legend stated that St. Sid was an old British saint, who was put to death in the neighbourhood of the city, and whose monument was to be found in one of the cathedral windows; and this well bore her name.

Mr. Dawson explained the plan, and the meeting shortly afterwards broke up.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20.

At ten o'clock, A.M., the Association met at the Royal Public Rooms, and resumed their inspection of Exeter antiquities, attended, as before, by colonel Harding. Proceeding down High-street, a glance was taken at St. John's hospital, founded in 1240, and the small restored church of St. Lawrence, with its statue of queen Anne. Opposite to this church was formerly a small conduit. The Apollo room, of the reign of George II, built for a music room, with its handsome ceiling and carving, was looked into, and a word said about the old bow of St. Stephen's, and a stone at the corner of Gandy-street, removed from the old Exe bridge. This stone was placed in its present position, by order of the late Mr. Nation, who purchased it for £1:1. A tradition by Hoker, records that about 1339 one of the middle arches of Exeter bridge fell down, "and was now builded by Ed. Bridgeman, then warden of the bridge, for which he bought great store of stones at St. Nicholas's abbey, late dissolved; and then the prophesy was fulfilled, that the river of Exe should run under St. Nicholas abbey." Next a visit was paid to the ancient private Mayoralty hall of Roger Mallock, in Gandy-street, which contains finely-carved wainscoting. The arms of Mallock, and of the Exeter merchant venturers, granted by queen Mary, and incorporated by queen Elizabeth, June 17th, 1559, are over the chimney piece. The Association then proceeded to the guildhall, and surveyed its blackened front. In 1466, a chapel, dedicated to St. George and St. John the Baptist, was built on this site, projecting into the street. This was replaced in 1592, by the present curious specimen of mixed English and Italian architecture. The interior of the common hall, with its arched roof, carving and wainscoting, was then inspected, and the valuable paintings contained therein. (See p. 82, *ante*.)

At the residence of Mr. James Pearse, in Fore-street, the Association found an old room worth notice. They glanced at the gabled front of Mr. Trehane's house, with horsemen over; and learned that the large conduit, at the top of South-street, was removed in 1766. Some old houses in Mary Arches-street were looked at. They belonged to one Crofton, bishop's registrar, early in the sixteenth century, from whom

they passed to dean Sutcliffe, in 1587, and subsequently became the property of Hele's trustees. St. Mary Arches church was inspected on the return; the Anglo-Norman pillars, and some tombs and mural monuments were the only objects of note. In the mint, an old Norman crypt was found, called St. Nicholas, and probably the mint of Charles I, now used as a respectable dwelling-house. A curious discovery was lately made; the flue of the house requiring repair, the workmen employed found that by that way—and that way alone—a large underground chamber could be reached. Passing through St. John's Bow—soon to be removed—the Association proceeded to the College hall, in South-street. This was formed by bishop Grandison, who presided over the diocese from 1328 to 1370, from an old almshouse into a residence for vicars choral. It was formerly called Frater's Calenderum or Calenderhay, for twenty poor men and women. The panelling of the room, table, chairs, fireplace, etc., are all handsome. This hall was used as a refectory. The residences of Mr. Down and Mr. Gendall in the cathedral-yard were found to possess interest, and with the examination of these, under the most courteous and able guidance of colonel Harding, the perambulations in Exeter were concluded, and the Association returned to the close on the north side of the cathedral, where they were met by Mr. Davis, who repeated the substance of his paper with the building before him, directing the attention of his audience to the various points both of the exterior and the interior as he proceeded.

A special train left Exeter to proceed to Pynes, the seat of sir Stafford Northcote, bt., the president of the Association. A large party, numbering about one hundred and fifty, had accepted the baronet's hospitality; and upon entering the park, they were met by sir Stafford, and heartily welcomed. After partaking of a most elegant entertainment, Mr. PETTIGREW proposed "The health of sir Stafford and lady Northcote," which was most warmly received and courteously responded to.

After walking through the upper portion of the park, beholding the fine scenery it commands, and viewing the gardens enriched with beautiful flowers, the party took leave of sir Stafford and lady Northcote, and proceeded to visit Crediton.

Arriving at Crediton, the association was met by the rev. prebendary Smith, vicar of Crediton, and immediately proceeded to view the church, which was well examined and commented upon by Mr. Davis, Mr. Gordon Hills, Mr. Roberts, and Mr. Hayward. To the latter gentleman we are indebted for the following description:—

"The church is cruciform with a nave, nave aisles, transepts, chancel, chancel aisles, and central tower, and eastward of the chancel is a lady chapel opening from the aisles by an archway on each side. The lower part of the tower is the earliest portion of the building, the four arches and probably some extent of work above being of late Nor-

man or transitional work. It has Norman shafts and pointed arches, which originally were probably of two orders, the central shaft and its voussoirs having apparently been cut away to give increased width to the openings. The upper part of the tower is of early English work and has three foliated lancet openings on each face with a roll label moulding continued all round, and a corbelled cornice. The parapets and pinnacles are of later work. The lower part of the Lady Chapel and also of a projecting building on the south side of the chancel, now used as a vestry, but which, as there are indications of there having been archways between it and the aisle, was probably a chapel, are of the same date as the upper part of the tower, the plinth and some of the buttresses being clearly of early English work, and the roll moulding being also used in the last named building. The upper part of the Lady Chapel is of Decorated work, the two arches connecting it with the chancel aisles, and also the edge shafts and arches of the window openings, being clearly of this period. The remainder of the church is probably of late Decorated work, but all the windows, including those of the Lady Chapel, have been filled with Perpendicular mullions and tracery, and the weatherings of the buttresses, are of the same late character. The nave consists of six bays or divisions, and the chancel of five; but the aisles of the latter are continued beyond the east wall of the chancel, in order to give access to the Lady Chapel, by means of the arches before referred to. Shafts project from the clerestory wall to support carved ribs or spandrels of the ancient roof, which is now replaced with one of comparatively recent date, having a flat plastered ceiling. The aisle roofs were and partly are of the same character, but about ten years since, when repairs became necessary to the nave aisles, the old oak ribs and bones were found above the plastered ceiling, and were replaced with new of exactly the same character. Of the exact form of the roofs of the nave and chancel there is no certainty, as all the old timbers have been removed, and common tie beam roofs, with flatplastered ceilings, have been substituted, and as this fine building is in the Court of Chancery and no funds are likely to be had for anything beyond such repairs as are essential to the preservation of the fabric, some years will probably elapse before a proper restoration like that recently effected in the nave aisles can be hoped for. The general character of the church is that of great massiveness. It is built of local dark coloured stones, principally from Thorverton, and as the surface of the walls internally was wrought to a fair face, and the piers and arches were of the same stone, the whitewash was removed, and the masonry painted." An objection was raised to this mode of treatment by one of the members of the Association, who expressed an opinion that this was not the manner in which the church was originally treated. Some discussion ensued, and it is possible that

the walls may have been coloured, but certainly they were not merely whitewashed, and as no funds are available for the introduction of colour, the present mode of treatment was, perhaps, the best that could be adopted. All who knew the church before the whitewash was removed, concur in expressing their sense of the warm rich colour of the stone being a marked improvement on the former cold whitewash. Much has been done in restoring the exterior of the church, and it is hoped that the work of renovation will still go on, and still more, that the Lady chapel may be preserved and devoted to religious uses. It was used for many years as the grammar school; but a new school and masters' houses have recently been built at the eastern end of the town. Another thing to be desired is the removal of the present high pews and the substitution of low open seats or chairs.

In that portion of the church, formerly used as the grammar school, Mr. Levien, F.S.A., in the absence of Mr. John Tuckett, read the following paper on Crediton :

“ As an account of Crediton would occupy considerable time, I purpose on this occasion simply to direct your attention to a few passages in its history, which are not generally known, or correctly understood.

“ CREDITON was called by the Saxons Cridiantune, as Chapple suggests from its situation, on the Cridian or Crydr river, now corrupted into ‘the Creedy.’ It may probably rank among the most ancient towns in the county, and first comes under our notice, as the birthplace of St. Winifred, surnamed Boniface, the great apostle of Germany. This happened about the year A.D. 670, two years before the death of Kenwalch king of the West Saxons, and thirty-five years after the introduction of Christianity into that country. His parents are stated to have been illustrious, and were, doubtless, converts to the new faith, for we find them early instructing their son in its tenets. At the age of thirteen he was placed in a Benedictine monastery at Exeter, where, we are told, he made considerable progress in the learning and religion of the times. It is not necessary to follow up the life of this saint, but I may remark that St. Burchard, and Frederick of Crediton, two of his assistants in his German apostolic mission, were also natives of this town. From these facts I am almost disposed to infer that there was here, even at this early period, some monastic establishment.

“ The next point of certainty in the history of Crediton, is its selection as an episcopal see, in the year 905, when Eadulph was appointed its bishop, and had the towns of Pawton, Lawhitton, and Callington, in Cornwall given him, ‘that he might from thence yearly visit the Cornish race, to extirpate their errors, for they had previously to the utmost of their power resisted the truth, and not obeyed the apostolic decrees.’¹ This bishop is mentioned in a charter dated 933, and appears to have died in that year, for I find by Florence, of Worcester, that Ethelgar,

¹ William of Malmesbury.

his successor, died anno 953, in the twenty-first year after his appointment to the episcopate.

“ The charter of 933, to which I have alluded, is by king Athelstan, enfranchising the see of Crediton, and as it is somewhat curious, I will quote from it. The original in Latin is preserved in the British Museum among the Cottonian collection (Augustus II, 31), and has been printed in Mr. Kemble’s *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 362. It runs thus:—‘I, Athelstan, raised by the right hand of the Almighty to the top of all Albion, for the honour of Almighty God, and in reverence to the blessed Mary the mother of the Lord, for the authority of all the saints, as well as for the gift of money agreed to be taken from the venerable bishop Eadulf (that is sixty pounds of silver), have agreed to confer freedom upon the episcopate of the church of Crediton, so that it may be perpetually secure and protected from all secular services, royal revenues, greater and lesser contributions, and war taxes to wit, and everything, save only military services, and fortress reparations.’ On reading this charter we are reminded of the proverb, ‘Amour fait beaucoup, mais l’argent fait tout;’ and from the largeness of the sum (sixty pounds of silver, a considerable amount in those days), are tempted to suspect that ready money had greater influence with our Anglo-Saxon king, than the honour of God, or the authority of the saints. However, after an awful imprecation on its opponents, the charter proceeds, ‘this munificent act of freedom, was done in the year of our Lord’s incarnation, 933.’ As we have seen, bishop Eadulf did not long survive the payment of this sixty pounds, and we are informed that when he died he was buried at Crediton.

“ Probably the church, at this time, like many others of the early Saxon period, was built only of wood, and it appears that steps were being taken to erect a more substantial edifice, for we find Ethelgar, Eadulf’s successor, journeying to Rome, and obtaining indulgences for the ‘donors and benefactors to Crediton minster;’ and he then speaks of returning, and ‘consecrating the church enclosure from each corner,’ this was in the time of pope Leo VII, probably about the year 938. As a translation of the whole of this curious document will be read in the paper by Mr. Levien upon the unpublished Devonshire MSS. in the British Museum, I have not quoted it more fully here, but will draw your attention to another, on the same roll, by one of bishop Ethelgar’s successors. This is in Saxon, and though not dated, must, both from internal and external evidence, have been written in the year 1018. It is a grant by bishop Eadnoth, of land at Crediton, as an indemnity for a loan of thirty marks; translated, it runs thus:—

“ ‘In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I Eadnoth, bishop, make known by this writing, that I borrowed thirty marks of gold, by way of loan on my land at Reading, of Beorthnoth, and I gave him one yard

(garden ground), to possess at Crediton, on the condition, that he should hold it his day, and after his day should bequeath it to whatever church he preferred which stands in the land. This is the boundary of the land which pertains to Crediton, first from Schokesbrookesford, thence to the east, to the path from the little gore (tongue of land), eastward on the south to the stagnant pool at Crediton, thence along the stream to the Elpinian field, thence east to the path, then east again even to Schokesbrookesford. This is witnessed by Canute the king, Wulfstan archbishop of York, and Living archbishop of Canterbury, Brihtwold bishop, and Eadnoth bishop, and Buhrwold bishop, and Athelwine bishop, and Brithwine bishop, and Athelward (duke), and Athelwold abbot, and the monks of Exeter, and the monks of Crediton, and this the bishops make known, to the borough town of Exeter, and to Totnes, and to Lidford, and to Barnstaple.

“ ‘Peace be to all those who preserve this, but hell to all who shall violate it, and this writing is preserved in Crediton, with their old books.’

“ There would certainly be a great difficulty, from the frequent use of the word east, to comprehend the exact spot here indicated; but it is nevertheless curious, as showing the great care taken over title deeds, that they were deposited with the treasures of the sacred edifice.

“ Eadnoth’s successor in the episcopal chair was bishop Living; and we have on the same roll, a confirmation of indulgences by him for the benefactors to Crediton church. Bishop Living was abbot of Tavistock, and nephew of Brithwold bishop of Cornwall, and originally a monk at St. Swithin’s monastery, Winchester; he accompanied king Canute (with whom he appears to have been on terms of the greatest intimacy) to Rome; and, on his return, was despatched in 1031 with that king’s memorable letter to his council. About this period he was made bishop of Crediton, and succeeded in obtaining from king Canute the Cornish see on the death of his uncle Brithwold; and in 1038 he was made bishop of Worcester by king Harold. In 1040, Ælfric, archbishop of York, accused him of participation in the murder of Alfred, the brother of Edward Atheling, when king Hardicanute accordingly deprived him of his newly acquired bishoprick of Worcester, and gave it to his accuser archbishop Ælfric; but the year following (1041), he was restored and Ælfric ejected. In the year 1042, on the death of king Hardicanute, Edward his successor was proclaimed king at London, mainly by the instrumentality of this prelate and earl Godwin. He died Sunday (10th kalends of April, 1046).

“ The late learned Dr. Oliver, in his recent work on the Bishops of Exeter, says that this bishop ‘obtained the consolidation of the two dioceses Crediton and Cornwall in perpetuity,’ but I think this an error; bishop Living was a royal favourite, and ‘only a pluralist,’ and there appears no reason to conclude but that he held them as two distinct



sees. Indeed, the Saxon Chronicle is very clear on the point: for after naming his death, it states,—‘He (Living) had three bishopricks: in Devonshire, in Cornwall, and in Worcester. Then Leofrick succeeded to Devonshire and Cornwall, and bishop Aldred to Worcester. Where bishop Living died is not known; but he was buried in Tavistock abbey, to which he had been a liberal benefactor, and in the time of William of Malmesbury service was daily performed there for the repose of his soul.’ This author describes him as an ‘ambitious, self-willed, and headstrong tyrant,’ in the administration of the ecclesiastical laws; and adds, that when he breathed his last, ‘a horrible noise was heard throughout the whole of England, so much that it was taken for the end of the world.’

“Bishop Living was, as we have seen, a royal favourite and a pluralist; and the same may be said of his successor Leofric, who was a native of Lorraine, of noble family, and appears to have been of great note. He was king’s chaplain, and the king’s high chancellor; and on the death of Living (with king Edward’s known partiality for French ecclesiastics), it is not at all wonderful that he obtained both bishopricks, Crediton and Cornwall; but ere he had been long seated in his diocese, he had a desire to live at Exeter, and as he seems aware that this could not be done but by the authority of the pope, he despatched Landbert, a priest, to Leo IX, soliciting his paternal letters to king Edward, that he might concede to its removal,—‘that in Exeter, secure from hostile attacks, he might be able to execute his ecclesiastical duties in greater safety.’ Dr. Whittaker suspects the sincerity of these assigned reasons; and it is remarkable that pope Leo’s reply does not allude to them, but merely insists on the impropriety of the see being in a village instead of a city, and expresses surprise that Leofric and other prelates should so act. By the canons of the church also, it was enjoined that bishops should reside in the large towns; and when we consider the love of ostentation, and the luxurious habits which distinguished the foreign clergy at this period, we may somewhat suspect that this move, as well as the obtaining the Devon and Cornish sees, was not free from motives which had reference to personal interests, and savoured rather more of the loaves and fishes than of anxiety for the spiritual welfare of, at any rate, his Cornish flock. Be this, however, as it may, the plan succeeded; the pope consented to his petition, and the king as readily yielded his assent, and bestowed on him the monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter at Exeter; and a few months later the king, coming there, conducted the bishop by his right hand, and his queen Editha conducting him by his left, they placed him in his episcopal chair in the aforesaid abbey-church, in the presence of many of the English nobility. Thus in the year 1050 was installed the first bishop of Exeter, and thus ended the bishopricks of Crediton and Cornwall.

“Crediton from this period (except in matters connected with the

church), does not hold a considerable position in the history of the county; it was, however, of sufficient importance to send burgesses to the parliament held at Carlisle in the thirty-fifth year of Edward the first, when we find ‘Stephen the carpenter and Payne the tayler’ returned, whom, judging from their names, we can readily imagine to have been truly *‘the representatives of the people.’* It is probable, however, that this was one of the earliest and most important seats of the woollen manufactory; for so late as the year 1538, we find this the only market in the county for wool, yarn, and kersies. In that year, we are told that Henry Hamlyn, the then mayor of Exeter, established a market of this description in that city. Of course, this was strongly opposed by the Creditonians, who, alarmed for the interests of their own town, brought the matter before the lords of the Council, but were repulsed. Crediton had to succumb; and we learn that this market was one of the greatest benefits accruing to the city of Exeter.

“It is, however, in another aspect, that of a warlike position, that our town next presents itself to notice. The Devonshire opponents to the Reformation, in 1549, assembled their forces here, entrenched the roads, formed a rampart at the east end of the town, and furnishing some adjoining barns with men, pierced loopholes in the sides for their shot; but with all this, sir Peter and sir Gawen Carew coming against them with a superior force, they were compelled to withdraw.

“Its next mention is by that celebrated antiquary, Richard Symons, who accompanied the army of king Charles I here in 1644. The place does not seem at all to have met his approbation, and if we may judge from his words, it is probable, that like some of our modern manufactories, it did not present quite so clean an appearance as it might: this is what he says—‘On Sunday, July 28th, his majesty and the whole army marched to Crediton, vulgo called Kirton, a great lowsy town, a corporate town, governed by a bayliff; the best house in the town belongs to a justice of the peace, where the king lay.’ His majesty, on this day, Sunday, here knighted sir Thos. Bassett, sir Joseph Wagstaffe, and sir Henry Cary, all officers in prince Maurice’s army. ‘On Tuesday, September 18th, 1644, his majesty (we are told) dined at Crediton, and from thence proceeded to Exeter, in rather greater state than usual.’

“However objectionable in appearance the town of Crediton might at this period have been, the next century doomed it to a series of dire calamities, at short intervals. In 1743, a dreadful fire broke out in the west town, when four hundred and sixty houses, and sixteen lives were lost, and the damage was estimated at £53,000. In 1766, another fire broke out on St. Lawrence’s Green, which burnt so violently, that sixty houses were destroyed before it could be got under. In 1769, another destructive fire happened here, which destroyed upwards of two hundred houses, and burnt from Bowden-hill to the corn market, and all Back-

lane for nearly three-eighths of a mile. In 1772, another fire broke out here and destroyed thirty-nine houses: thus, in less than thirty years, this town was the scene of four most awful conflagrations, which destroyed seven hundred and fifty-nine houses.

"I do not propose to follow the history of the town any further; but ere I leave the subject, I wish to say a few words respecting the church, not as to its present appearance, or architectural details, but to remark, that the earliest church here, whether of wood or not, was certainly dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, evident by king Athelstan's charter of 933, and also by bishop Ethelgar's charter; also that the church, built about 938, by this last-named prelate, was dedicated to the same saint, of which there is abundant evidence. I do not find any mention of the holy cross, the name by which it is now known, till the year 1236, when bishop Brewer, in confirming the indulgences acquired by his predecessors, calls it 'the church of the Holy Cross, and the mother of him crucified thereon, the ever Virgin Mary'; though the chapel at the east end of the church, is to this day called St. Mary's chapel, I find no further mention of the church under that name; but I think that a careful examination of this chapel, might place it beyond a bare conjecture, that it is part of the original Saxon church,¹ and it is not, I think, improbable, that at the time of bishop Brewer's charter (1236), the church had undergone considerable repairs, and perhaps enlargement; if so, this would, in a great measure, account for its double dedication.

"It is not altogether astonishing in the darkness of the middle ages to find such a noble and celebrated church as Crediton should have had a miraculous power attributed to it, and thus we are told 'in 1315 one Thomas Orey (of Keynsham in Somerset, near Bristol), a blind man, dreamt that if he should visit the church of the Holy Cross at Crediton, he should recover his sight; accordingly, on the 1st of August, while kneeling before the altar of St. Nicholas, in the said church, and while bishop Stapledon was celebrating solemn mass, the sight of the said Thomas Orey was instantaneously restored. After mass, the miracle having been reported to the bishop, and he having convinced himself of the man's previous blindness and his decided cure, considered himself justified in offering with the accustomed ceremonics a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for this manifestation of His mercy and power.'

The Association then returned to Exeter, and an evening meeting was held at the Royal Public Rooms. T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair, when J. R. Planché, esq., hon. sec., read a paper on "the earls of Devon," which will be found in the *Collectanea Archaeologica* vol. i, pp. 263-284. Papers also by T. Wright, esq., F.S.A., and J. H. Pring, M.D., were also read and will be printed.

¹ The architects present were unable to find any evidence whatever calculated to sustain this opinion.

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ON THE COINAGE OF EXETER.

BY LIEUT.-COL. HARDING.

AMONG the many subjects of interest connected with the history of Exeter, there are few points of inquiry better calculated to convey to you the events of an earlier period than that which I propose to enter upon; and I confess I do not undertake it without considerable fear of being unable to do but imperfect justice to it.

It would be foreign to my present purpose to enter much into the early history of Exeter, previously to the introduction of a coinage into this city; suffice it to observe that its commanding situation, the beautiful Exe, fed by so many streams, and navigable for so many miles, added to the fertility of the surrounding country, "must have invited and attracted the native Britons to establish a settlement here at a very early period. By them, as we learn from Asserius (*De rebus gestis Aelfridi*), it was called Cairwick (or Cearisk), 'the city of waters.'¹"

I would here endeavour to remove a point, that might be made one of dispute with those who gather the early history of this city exclusively from Hoker, Isaac, and other writers who follow in their train. These historians state, probably correctly, that the early name of this city was *Isca*, but that it afterwards gained the appellation of *Monkton* from the number of its monasteries, and that it did not receive

¹ Oliver's *History of Exeter*, p. 1.



the title of *Exanceaster* until the reign of Athelstane. This latter statement is refuted by authentic documents, from which we gather "that Exeter had its monastery as early as the middle of the seventh century, which is made manifest by the life of Bishop *Winfred*, or *Boniface*, afterwards Archbishop of Mentz, and the apostle of Germany. This extraordinary man was a native of Crediton, and born about the year 680. He was of a good family, *ex bona ortus prosapia*, as we read in Bishop Grandisson's *Legenda Sanctorum*. At an early age he was sent for education to the monastery in this city governed by the Abbot Wolphard in *Exanchester*, *quod modo Exonia dicitur*.

In further exemplification of this error, he states, that at this time lived St. Sidwella, the eldest of four devout sisters, daughters of Benna, a noble Briton residing in Exeter. On his death her cruel and covetous step-mother, envious of St. Sidwella's fortune, who inherited considerable property in the eastern suburbs of this city, engaged one of her servants, a reaper or mower, to become her assassin, which he did whilst she was occupied in her devotions near the well in Hedwyll-medæ, at a little distance from the parish church, and which stills bears her name. Unfortunately her acts perished with the destruction of the city by *Sweyn*; but in the very ancient Martyrologium of Exeter cathedral we read "Augusti secundi die, Item in Britannia foras murum *Civitatis Exonie*, St. Sativole, Virginis et Martyris." We gather further, in allusion to the ravages of the Danish and northern sea-kings, that in 894 these scourges of God reappeared before the city and invested it; but Alfred hastened to its relief, and hurried the Danes back to their ships, who contented themselves with ravaging the coast. This great and good king, the founder of the British navy, befriended Exeter; but he gave its revenues, with its royalties in Wessex and Cornwall, to his learned tutor and biographer, Asserius, who, in relating his royal master's liberality, says, "ex improviso dedit mihi *Exanceastre* cum omni parochia quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxoniam et in Cornubiam."¹

As regards *Monkton*, "so called," says Hoker, "by the space of 300 and odd years, until the time of King Athelstane, who altered and changed the former names, and

¹ See *Rebus Gestis Aelfridi Regis*.

called it after the name of the river Esseterra, or Exeterra, that is to say, *Exeter*,¹ the evidence before given is, I think, sufficient to refute, and proves that this ancient city was known by the name Exancester two hundred and fifty years before Athelstane commenced his reign.

A Saxon charter is referred to by Hoker and Isaacs, from which they gather the name of *Monkton*. The genuineness of this document may be doubted, since there is an anachronism in the date, while some of the alleged witnesses were neither contemporaries with Athelstane nor with each other. But the text, even if it be genuine, says Dr. Oliver, “can bear no such construction ; for the King (Athelstane) professes to grant to the monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter, at *Exanceaster*, a manse called *Munceatun*,” and then distinctly specifies the boundaries of this manse in the Saxon language. “The property, we believe,” continues the same author, “lay along the Sut-Brook,² which rises in the south-east part of St. Sidwell’s parish, and is fed by several springs and wells ; but it is now in great measure covered over in Newtown, passes along the bottom of Paris Street and Holloway, and empties itself into the Exe below the quay” (p. 17.)

With such evidence of the use of the name *Exanceaster* and *Exonia* anterior to Athelstane, I may justly lay claim to the great Alfred as having been the first to establish a mint in Exeter, very probably after defeating the Danes, and having possession of the city, somewhere about 894 ; for although the Romans established a large and important station in the heart of this city, probably about the time of Claudius Cæsar (a fact abundantly proved by the discovery of tessellated pavements, Roman baths, Samian ware, Roman pottery, added to an immense number of Roman coins), I do not for a moment suppose any mint was established in Exeter, or believe that there is evidence of money being coined by the Romans in any city out of London. I have not been able to procure the coin of Alfred struck in Exeter ; but it exists, I believe, in the British Museum, and certainly in the valuable collection of Mr. Sainthill of Cork. *Obv.* ALFRED. REX. SAXONVM. *Rev.* EXA palewise on the field.

There is no remaining evidence of the situation of this

¹ Hoker, pp. 4, 5.

² “So distinguished from North Brook, the source of which is near.”

mint. A tradition has long existed that the mints of Athelstane (for there were two moneyers or mints said to be in Exeter in his reign from 925 to 941) were situated in Paul Street, where a building formerly stood, which extended to the city wall, called "Athelstane's palace ;" but I have no evidence, beyond tradition, for the supposition.

The coins of this reign minted in Exeter bear on the reverse EAXANIE. CIVITATIS. The moneyer is RAEGENOLD.

The third coin is that of EADMVND, brother of Athelstan, and grandson of Alfred, who reigned from 941 to 946, and were marked EX. The moneyer's name is variously described by different authors. Mr. Sainthill has the reverse CLACMONE. MON. EX. Capt. Shortt, in a letter dated 4 November, 1841, describes a penny of EADMVND with the legend CLAC. MONETA. ON. EXONE, and mentions the name of CLACK as still remaining in the county. The bust on his coin is looking to the left, and passing through the outer circle.

EDRED, the brother of EADMVND, ascended the throne in 946, and reigned nine years. The reverse of his Exeter coins bears CLACMONE. MONEII. ON. EX., OR CLACMONE. MONE. MONE. X., as given by Mr. Sainthill, who adds, on the authority of Mr. Lindsay, "the official designation of the moneyer in the latter case being twice repeated."¹

Capt. Shortt gives also a penny of EADRED, minted in Exeter, with the moneyer's name according to his own interpretation, CLACK.

Mr. Sainthill,² in his attempt to locate some doubtful coins, gives a penny of EADWIG, the son of EADMVND, marked TO, to Totnes ; but I am not aware that any of his coins were minted in Exeter. He died in 958.

EADGAR, the son also of EADMVND, who reigned from the death of EADWIG to 975, the first sole monarch of England, had coins minted in Exeter, as there is, or was, one in Col. Stretton's collection, bearing on the reverse AELFSIGE. MON. EX. There is also another which bears the x only, and a third with ex. similar to the first.

Of his son and successor, EADWARD the Martyr, who was assassinated in 978, Ruding gives four varieties minted in Exeter, and a coin of this reign is said to be in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm.

Of ETHELRED II coins (*the unready*), half brother of

¹ Olla Podrida, vol. i, p. 82.

² Ibid., i, p. 175.

EADWARD the Martyr, whose sovereignty is dated from A.D. 978 to 1016, there are upwards of twenty different types, of which three bear the cross type, and one was coined in the mint at Totnes. Mr. Sainthill gives a drawing of a penny of this reign (No. 21, p. 185), that was dug up near the city wall on Northernhay, minted in Exeter, and is now in Capt. Shortt's valuable collection. Bust to the right with a crowned helmet: *reverse*, a double cross voided, with a kind of cross pomme in the quarters.

On the flight of ETHELRED into Normandy in 1013, having been driven from his throne and kingdom by Sweyn, the Danish invader, or I should rather perhaps speak of the period of his death, 1016, no material change was made in the coinage of England. SVEIN had no coinage.

CANVTE, who reigned from 1016 to 1035, has left seven varieties of Exeter coinage, and one struck at Totnes. On 12 February, 1815, a silver cup, containing 860 pennies, was discovered at Halton Moor, five miles from Lancaster; and of this number 379 were of *Canute's* reign. One coined at Exeter has the legend on the reverse PVLSTAN. ON. ECXEC.

Of HAROLD I (surnamed Harefoot), son of Canute, Mr. Sainthill gives drawings of two from his own collection. On his death, in 1040, his brother

HARDACNVTE ascended the throne of England. Sainthill gives two pennies struck in Exeter during this short reign, which was part of a hoard discovered at Dunbrody Abbey, in co. Wexford, in the spring of 1837; and he takes credit to himself, doubtless justly, of being the first who brought these coins to light. Ruding says of this coinage,¹ that the name of his kingdom is never to be found on his coins.

In EDWARD the Confessor, the only surviving son of Ethelred, the Saxon monarchy was again restored; and we learn from Ruding² that the coinage of this reign was exceedingly numerous, five hundred varieties having been preserved, of which five are given to Exeter. Hawkins says³ "the coins of this reign are exceedingly various in type, size, and weight. Halfpennies and farthings were formed by cutting the coin into two or four pieces. Of a

¹ Annals of the Coinage, v. i, p. 140.

² Silver Coins of England, p. 72.

² Ib., p. 141.

considerable number of coins discovered at Thwaite, in Suffolk, several specimens of half and quarter pennies were found.

The eventful year 1066 brought with it the death of Edward Confessor, the reign of Harold II, and the Norman conquest.

During the reign of HAROLD II, which extended to nine months, we find from the excellent authority of Hawkins that there were nearly one hundred varieties of moneymen's names,—and three different coinages occurred in Exeter,—all of which are inscribed with PAX across the field. One of these was in the collection of Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, the reverse of which bears the legend, BRIHTRIC. ON. EXE. PAX.

The extensive discovery of coins of the first two Williams which took place at Beaworth in Hants, June 30, 1833, "to the extent," says Hawkins, "of scarcely less than 12,000, removed, in some degree, the difficulties which exist in distinguishing one from the other; those with two sceptres being judged to belong to William I, while those with two stars, one on each side the face, which forms a distinguishing mark of Rufus on his great seal, must be assigned to William II. These coins were carefully examined by Mr. Hawkins and others," and were found, with the exception of perhaps one hundred, to have belonged exclusively to the PAX type. Of the coins thus discovered, we find four or five that were minted in Exeter.

Both the late Dr. Oliver and Capt. Shortt describe a coin struck in Exeter, and I imagine found there, with a full-faced crowned bust, and sceptre in the right hand; reverse SEPINE. ON. IEXEC. A cross reaches the inner circle of the field, and in the angles of the cross PAXS.

The coins found at Abreston in Hants, about 1833, contained seven differences of the Exeter mint. *Obv.* Head full-faced, with a sceptre on the left side, held by the right hand, which comes across the breast, inscribed PILLEM. REX. *Rev.* a short cross within the inner circle, and in each quarter a letter of the word PAXS, contained within a circle, a motto first found on the coins of Edward the Confessor, repeated on all the coins of Harold II, and now copied by the Norman Conqueror.¹

¹ See Hawkins, pl. 8, p. 241; Ruding, pl. 1, No. 4.

A singular penny of the Exeter mint is figured by Ruding.¹ It unites the reverse of the two sceptres with the canopy type, the canopy being also supported by the two sceptres instead of columns. *Rev. SPOTTINC. ON. EXC.*

An interesting letter published by Mr. Sainthill,² from Mr. Loscombe (accompanying a coin, the bust full-faced, with a sceptre on each side, *reverse PVLPINE. ON. EXEI.*) describes the discovery of some coins at Malmesbury in 1828, of which the above was one; and he relates some interesting particulars regarding their discovery under the foundation-stone of an ancient chapel, said to have been erected by William the Conqueror.³ The author remarks, that in addition to "appropriating the two sceptres to William I, this discovery shows how long it has been customary to bury the currency of the day under the foundation-stone of the building: and who will venture to say the custom commenced then?"

Of William II coins there were ten varieties minted in Exeter, and all of the PAX type, which doubtless formed a part of the large hoard discovered at Beaworth.

Of Henry I coins, who reigned from 1100 to 1135, there are many interesting particulars. Mr. Rashleigh's paper⁴ gives an interesting description of a collection of coins of this and the following reigns, which were discovered in Hertfordshire in 1818;⁵ and Mr. Sainthill has given drawings of two different types, from Mr. Rashleigh's collection, coined in Exeter. With one or two exceptions, the coins of this reign are not rare; but before the discovery above stated, none of them were known to have been minted in Exeter.

Of King Stephen's coins, Ruding mentions two of the Exeter mint, one EXC. and the other EXCE. The death of King Stephen made way for the restoration of the lawful sovereign, and Henry Plantagenet ascended the British throne.

The extensive circulation of base coin which marked the close of Stephen's reign, "which brought evil to the people, and discredit to themselves,"⁶ rendered a coinage almost

¹ Part II, pl. 1, No. 1.

² Olla Pod., i, p. 189, pl. 16, No. 36.

³ Ibid., i, p. 189.

⁴ Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xii, April 1849 to 1850.

⁵ Olla Pod., ii, p. 153.

⁶ Ruding, i, p. 170.

a necessity, and a new issue was made about 1156. These coins were generally extremely ill-struck, being irregular in size and shape, and portions of the legend quite illegible. Such were the coins, says Hawkins (p. 87), that were found at Royston in 1721, as well as the 5,700 discovered at Tealby in Lincolnshire, 1807, although they were as fresh as the day they issued from the mint. The best specimens of all the varieties of towns and mint-masters were selected for the British Museum and a few private individuals, the rest, to the number of 5,127, were melted at the Tower.

Of the specimens preserved, six were different types of the Exeter mint.¹ Capt. Shortt has remarked that the penny of Henry II, bearing the legend SNAEBEORN. ON. EON. (Exon) with PAX across the field, was an Exeter coin.

There is, I believe, no known coinage of Richard I, or an English coinage of King John, although it appears that in the ninth of that reign, 1208, the moneyers of Exeter, together with those of various other places, were summoned to attend at Westminster.

The pennies of *Henry III* are marked generally by the number III, or the word TERCI; but Mr. Sainthill² gives an example of HENRICVS. REX. only. A coin of this reign has been described by Capt. Shortt, found near St. David's church, bearing a double cross on the reverse extending beyond the inner circle, inscribed WIL. O-I (on) ECCE. (MS., p. 31, B*).³ With the penny of Henry III, says Hawkins (p. 90), commences the simple device of a cross with three pellets in each angle, which continued, almost without variation, till the eighteenth Henry VII, a period of nearly three hundred years; and it was not abandoned on the smaller coinage before the close of James the First's reign.

The turbulent reign of Henry III,⁴ which terminated only with his death (16 Nov., 1272), left to his son and successor, Edward I, a diminished power, an exhausted

¹ *Olla Pod.*, i, p. 193.

² i, p. 197, and pl. 18, No. 6.

³ Ruding, i, p. 196.

⁴ Mr. Sainthill has lately recorded some additional varieties of short cross-pennies of Henry III, to those published in the first and second volumes of his *Olla Podrida*, obtained from a hoard discovered at Newry. There were among them six of the Exeter mint; and he gives as a new reading, ROGER ON EXEC. The Rev. Mr. Pownall has also given from the same hoard, as belonging to the reign of Henry II or Henry III, two others, namely, JOHAN ON ECCE, and GIL-EERD ON EC. (See *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, No. IV, Dec. 1861, pp. 205, 208.)

treasury, and restless subjects, which required both wisdom and vigour to recover. Of the many abuses to which this monarch had to apply a remedy, "no greater grievance existed than the state and debasement of the coinage"; for the mischievous consequences extended to the lowest of his subjects. The coin was clipped and otherwise diminished to less than half its legal weight, insomuch that foreign merchants would not bring over their commodities, and every marketable produce was raised to a higher price. The first step taken for its improvement was by enacting, in 1275 (3^o Edw. I), that all persons convicted of false coinage should not be bailed, and that severe punishment should be inflicted on the offenders.

On the octave of Holy Trinity, 1279, the king commanded the sheriffs to interrupt the circulation of spurious or clipped money, which should be no longer current; and in the ninth of this reign, 1281, the further circulation of black-money was prohibited. To effect a still further improvement, the king sent, of his own proper revenue, good and unclipped money to ten cities in England, "to make exchange with," until the new coinage should be ready for circulation. I have met with no enumeration of the cities to which this privilege was extended; but as the mints in Edward's reign were confined to fifteen towns, including Exeter, it is fair to presume that this city was one of them.

On the 4th September the new money was put in circulation, that is of pennies and round farthings, leaving the old money current during the following year, after which it was to be prohibited. It was also agreed that the mint-master, William de Tarnemire of Marseilles, should make a groat sterling, to be of the full value of four lesser sterlings or pennies, to be circulated throughout England. The name of this coin appears to be derived from the French *gros*, and the corruption of the word *great* into *groat*.¹ Harding is, I believe, the only chronicler who mentions the coining of *half-groats* at this period.²

I may be pardoned for continuing this digression by making one further observation, that the coins of the first three Edwards³ have always been difficult to separate. Archbishop Sharpe suggested a mode of distinguishing

¹ Ruding, i, p. 194.
1862

² Ib., p. 195.

³ Hawkins, p. 90.
14

them ; but it was Mr. Bartlett who fixed on a firm basis the principles on which they may be appropriated to their respective owners ; and an accurate examination of a great number of the coins found at Tutbury in 1832 confirms Mr. Bartlett's views. All the coins upon which EWD. appear belong to the first Edward ; those which have the name in full, EDWARDVS, are ascribed to Edward III, and the remaining contractions to Edward II. To this rule, however, there must be some exceptions, as the pennies which read EDWARD, and add FRA., must belong to Edward III. I may further observe, on the authority of Hawkins, that he believes the shoulders of Edward I and II are always clothed, Edward III never.

The pennies of Edward I were struck in thirteen different cities, under the superintendence of Robert de Hadley, of which Exeter was one ; and Ruding remarks¹ that "in the eighth year of this reign it was ordained that there should be two furnaces in this city (Exeter), and in 1300 an order was given for the building of houses for the workmen, and for sending beyond seas for workmen." This coinage is distinguished by the legend on the reverse being CIVITAS. EXONIE. All Edward pennies coined in HADLIE, EXONIE, CESTRIE, and KYNGESTON are very rare. This reign, I believe, terminated the coinage of Exeter from about 1333 to c. 1642, although it has been asserted that coins were struck at Exeter in Edward the Second's reign, but I find no evidence of it.

I have mentioned the mints which are supposed to have been established in Paul Street, where a house called Athelstane's palace formerly stood, and it appears probable it continued there until William the Conqueror's reign, when, it is the opinion of Dr. Oliver, as well as of others, that the coinage, from the time of the Conquest to the reign of Edward I, was in the castle.

Charles I ascended the British throne in 1625 ; but it does not appear that any mint was established in Exeter until 1642, when it formed one of many mints which this monarch's necessities obliged him to establish. The types, "or rather the modifications of the types," of the coins of this reign are exceedingly numerous, and the mintage of Exeter forms a most interesting series both from their number and character.

¹ ii, p. 162.

I imagine the chief coinage in Exeter occurred during the years from 1642 to 1646, when the city surrendered to Lord Fairfax. It consisted of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, fourpences, twopences, and pennies, on all which the M.M. is a rose, whence they derived the appellation of "rose crowns"; and it is asserted by some authorities (but only to leave the matter in doubt) that the *rose* indicates that the silver was derived from mines in the west of England. Ruding observes, on the authority of Martin Leake, that two half-crowns, which I shall presently mention, were the produce of silver taken from the mines at Combmartin, in the north of Devon: the following letter, however, copied from the original, in the hand-writing of Charles I, makes it at least extremely doubtful whether the Comb-martin mines were worked at all during this turbulent period, or for some years both before and after the reign of Charles I. It was addressed to a member of an old and respected family in the north of Devon:—

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have received a faire character of your affections to our wel beloved servant, Thomas Bushell, Esq., and of your serviceable endeavours for advancing his further discovery of the mynes att Combmartin, in order to the publiq' good; and having had a sight of the oare, which we conceive lyes there in vast proportions, according to the testimony of ancient records in that behalfe,—We have thought fitt, not only to let you know that we shall esteem it an acceptable service if by pursuance of your first principles you add to his encouragements, but alsoe by an act of grace that may reward you or your posterity, readily make good the same. Soe, not doubting your chearfull compliance with him in all things tending to y^e advancement of soe good a worke. We bid you farewell.

"Given under our sign manuell at our court at Newport in y^e Isle of Wight, this 29th day of October, in y^e 24th year of our reigne, 1648.

"CHARLES R.

"To our trusty and well-beloved subject, Lewis Incledon, of Braunton, in our county of Devon, Esq."

The first Exeter crown, out of eight which were coined



in this city, has a rose of a peculiar form on both sides for MM. The king's head is in profile, and the horse, though coarsely executed, possesses considerable spirit. The shield is oval and garnished. Others, with the same mint mark, are less neatly executed, with the king's face nearly full; some of them have the date 1644, but in different positions. Another crown piece, with the date 1645, is peculiarly well executed, and is figured both in Ruding¹ and Snelling²; and in one of the same date the rose is replaced by EX on the reverse, and a third has a MM. castle.

Of the Oxford crowns, which, from the inscription EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI, have received the title of EXVRGAT money, one, or perhaps two, appear to have been struck in Exeter.

There were ten half-crowns coined in Exeter, and some of them are extremely interesting. The first is a well-executed piece, and distinguished by the king being mounted on a capering horse, with truncheon in hand, and implements of war strewed on the ground. Mint mark a rose, shield oval and garnished, and the date 1642 amongst the ornaments beneath. Mr. Hawkins³ assigns this coin to Exeter from the presence of the rose. He imagines it was not intended for circulation, all the specimens he had seen being in such good preservation. This rare half-crown Folkes has assigned to York, and struck when the king first raised his standard in that neighbourhood; but the reasons assigned by Hawkins have greater weight.

The second half-crown represents the horse as the last, but nothing below, the king holding a sword instead of a truncheon, hair long and floating behind, shield oval and garnished between the letters C. R.; MM. a rose on both sides.

The third has the horse walking, and carrying his head rather low. The face in profile with short hair. MM. a rose.

The fourth only differs in having C. R. above the shield.

The fifth has on the reverse the Oxford type, with date 1644, and EX in the exergue.

In the sixth example the horse is well executed, and in good attitude; date 1644, at the end of the legend.

The next three differ only in date, or MM., which is sometimes a castle, or the letters EX.

¹ iii, Suppl. V, No. 22.

² View of the Silver Coinage of England, pl. 13, No. 18.

³ P. 172.

"In the British Museum," says Hawkins, "there is a half-crown of this reign, with the date 1644, MM. a rose on both sides. The king's face in profile, the sword sloping forwards, with ground under the horse, and tail not twisted. In general character it is like the Oxford half-crowns of 1643, with ox."

I may here mention two other half-crowns before alluded to. The first resembles what is called the blacksmith's half-crown, from the rudeness of its execution, but without housings, and MM. an anchor on both sides. The reverse has a square shield garnished.

The second differs materially from the former, and is one of the best of King Charles's coinage. The horse is represented standing on ground, Hawkins says under the forefeet only, but in that particular he differs from other authorities: MM. a small lily. Reverse, shield oval within the garter, crown between c. r., each letter surmounted by a crown, with the lion and unicorn supporting, and date 1645 below. The legend CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO. Leake remarks of this coin that "it was probably of the silver from the mines of Comb-martin in Devon"; but I have already given strong evidence against such a probability.

Five different shillings were coined in Exeter, all without the plume before the face, and the numeral XII behind the head, with MM. on both sides a rose; and like the Bristol shilling the bust is crowned, with a falling collar trimmed with lace of a stellate pattern.

The second bears the date 1644 at the end of the legend on the obverse.¹

The third differs in having the rose in the middle of the date.

The fourth and fifth differ in a greater degree, the first bearing the date 1645 at the end of the legend on the reverse; while the last has the declaration type, with MM. a rose on the obverse only.

The sixpences of this reign minted in Exeter nearly resemble the shilling, with a rose between the date 1644. Ruding gives one of the same date with the numerals to the left of the mint mark.

¹ Mr. Franks found among the coins of a "find" at Idsworth, near Horndean, Hants, a shilling of Charles I, struck at Exeter, with the date of 1644 on the reverse. (*Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, No. IV, Dec. 1861, p. 5 of the "Proceedings.")

The Exeter groat has the date 1644 before the legend on the obverse.

The three-pence has a square-topped shield, with a cross fleury over all, and the date 1644 above. MM. on both sides a rose.

The reverse of the Exeter half-groat is unlike any of the former coins, having the legend THRO. IVSTI. FIRMAT., and date 1644. Another has on the reverse a rose only. The obverse in both cases, excepting the absence of the date, is similar to the shilling.

The penny is similar to the half-groat.

I may here mention a token, composed of lead, that was struck by the adherents of Charles I when besieged in Exeter by Oliver Cromwell's troops. It bears on the obverse a bold Tudor rose surmounted by a crown. The reverse is plain. It is one inch and a half in diameter.

I conjecture the mint during the reign of Charles I was in Mint Lane; but there is no evidence of any mint having been attached to St. Nicholas's Abbey.

From 1645 to the period of the great coinage in 1696-7 by William III "for the supply of the western parts of the kingdom," no coinage appears to have taken place in Exeter. At this time 147,296 lbs. of silver were coined here into half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences only. The mint was in an ancient house in St. Mary Arches Street, the evidence of which still remains. Andrew Brice¹ observes, "a new mint, within my own memory, had place in St. Mary Arches Lane in 1696." He died in November 1773; and although his age is not recorded, he has always been described and represented as a very old man. The places where established at this time were Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York, each coin being distinguished by the first letter of the city being placed under the king's bust, consequently Exeter has the letter E. There were two coinages at this period, in 1696-7; all bear a strong resemblance to each other, but the shield in the latter year, in some instances, is rather larger.

Besides the letters on William III coins, there are, in some instances, other symbols indicating the place whence the metal was procured. The rose marks the west of England; the plume of feathers applies to Wales; and the

¹ Topographical Dictionary, i, p. 545. 1759.

elephant and castle distinguishes the supply from the African Company: the former two are on the reverse between the arms of the cross, the latter under the bust.

From 1697 to the present time I have found no record of any coinage having taken place in Exeter, or indeed in any town out of London, except some silver and copper tradesmen's tokens, differing in size and value.

Having brought the few remarks I was desirous of offering on the subject of the Exeter coinage to a close, I will only further remark, that the number of Greek and Egyptian coins that have been discovered in the city are supposed to have been brought here by Mediterranean merchants or Roman auxiliary troops, and probably by each of them.

BRITISH REMAINS ON DARTMOOR.

BY SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.

(Continued from p. 53.)

VIII. The “holed stone,” *Tolmen*, or *men-an-tol* of Cornwall, is of very uncertain use. A good specimen of it still remains near Lanyon in Cornwall (Plate 2, fig. 15). The stone is 4 feet 2 inches broad; with a circular hole 1 foot 6½ inches in diameter; and its original height above ground was probably the same as its breadth. One upright stone stands before and another behind it, distant each 4 feet; and 9 feet from the foremost of these is another upright stone in a slightly different direction from the axis of the holed stone, and its two companions. A fragment also lies near this outer stone, and another near the foremost one.

The word *tol* or *dol* in Welsh signifies a “ring,” “loop,” or “bow;” and differs from the *dol* of the French *dolmen* translated “stone table.” Another Celtic word, *dol*, signifies “lamentation” (*dolor*).

It has been thought that some ceremony was performed by joining hands through the aperture; and Wilson¹ states that at the marriage ceremony in Orkney the “contracting parties join hands through the perforation, or more properly

¹ Prehist. Ann. of Scotl., p. 302.

speaking the ring, of a stone pillar ;” and a similar custom was prevalent in Iceland of holding “a less bulky ring, when parties entered into mutual compacts.” In Cornwall they think that certain complaints of children are cured by passing them through this hole ; and the same superstition seems to be retained in other places, where they pass children through a hole in a tree, as a cure for rickets.¹

At the *Torre dei Giganti*, a large ortholithic building in Gozo, very similar to that near Crendi in Malta,² is an upright stone perforated with a hole of diamond shape (fig. 16), and a short distance before it is a small pillar terminating in a tapering point. In the same ruins are scroll ornaments of peculiar shape (fig. 18), and that emblematic device found also in the ruins of Crendi, which resembles one commonly placed at the feet of the goddess Astarte (fig. 17).

The holed stone above the bed of the Teign, near the sacred circle of Gidleigh Common, or of Scorhill, has been formed by the action of water, and not by human agency ; and those so common on Dartmoor, in which the hole is a mere socket, not passing through them, are of late date, and made for imposts to gates, which turned in the socket in lieu of a hinge. One of these is figured by Borlase (Plate xiv, fig. 3, p. 179). The hole is about 5 inches in diameter, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.³

IX. The *Logan*, or rocking stone, has been supposed by many to be solely attributable to human agency ; but, as in the case of the rock-basins, it is probable that it was *originally* a natural formation, converted by artificial means into a miraculous object ; human hands aiding to complete what the disintegration of the lower part of a large mass of overhanging rock rendered it easy to convert into a rocking stone. If nature had worn away the underpart of all these blocks sufficiently to make them rock, it is not very probable that she would have stopped in her work, or that the stone would have ceased to decay as soon as it reached that desirable state ; and it is more reasonable to conclude that a crafty priesthood, having found some one or more stones so poised as to move on being pushed, completed the incipient disin-

¹ See Pettigrew’s *Medical Superstitions*, p. 74.

² There are other similar remains in these islands, and one is at the head of the great harbour. It seems from their position that they were made by a people coming from Africa, where ortholithic remains are found.

³ V. *infra*, p. 32.

tegration of others for their own purposes. Pliny mentions a rough crag at Harpasa in Asia, resembling these logans, which he says could be moved by one finger ("Cautes stet horrenda uno digito mobilis." *Nat. Hist.*, ii, 96); and Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.*, i, 1021) speaks of stones placed on the summit of tumuli, which moved with the wind. Borlase (p. 180) after saying that Ptolemy Hephaestion mentions the Gygonian stone, which could be moved by the stalk of an asphodel, observes that the word Gygonius is purely Celtic, "*gwingog*" signifying "*motitans*, the rocking stone;" and this word in Welsh means "wriggling," or "struggling."

Many are met with in various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, Spain, and elsewhere; and as they are not in the same formations, the argument in favour of similarity of natural origin cannot be maintained. The word *logan* is analogous to the Welsh *Llogi*, "to shake;" but the rocking stone is called in that language *maen sigl* or "shaking stone," and *siglo* means to "shake" or "rock."¹

x. The large masses of natural rock, which have been called "*rock idols*," and "*Druid altars*," are numerous on Dartmoor and elsewhere, especially in granite and gritstone districts. It has been the opinion of some that they were selected as types, or representations, of the gods;² but though it is probable that a superstitious people might attach some idea of sanctity to objects of so peculiar a character, there is no evidence to substantiate this conjecture. One of the most remarkable is that of Constantine in Cornwall, called the *maen* ("stone") rock, and the Cornish pebble. It is 30 feet long (or 37 feet 4 inches to the extreme point), by 18 feet 3 inches, and 13 feet 6 inches high, and beneath the north end is an open passage from one side to the other. On the summit, and on the rocks immediately below it, are numerous rock basins; which, though they have now the appearance of being altogether naturally formed, may have been partly artificial, and afterwards corroded by the action of the atmosphere, and made into their present irregular shapes.

This, and the large masses of rock below Carn Brea, the Cheesewring, and others similarly isolated, have been con-

¹ *Log* and *rock* are very similar, *r* taking the place of *l*; and in Arabic we have also *rook* to "shake" or "rock."

² Borlase, p. 171, 172.
1862

sidered objects of worship ; and some have been called *Gorseddau*,¹ " places of assembly," or as Borlase terms them, places of elevation (p. 117) whence the Druids pronounced their decrees ; but their purpose is doubtful ; and though some superstitious reverence may have been felt for such remarkable works of nature, there seems to be no authority for giving them the actual rank of Druidical idols.

It must, however, be observed that M. Fouquet describes some natural rocks in France, the surface of which has at a remote period been drilled with holes ; and others having a narrow passage extending round their base, the upper part of which has been broken into small fragments ; and both these he conjectures to have served as altars.

XI. The *Rock-basin* I have already noticed ;² but while I pointed out the fact of certain large basins of particular form being probably artificial, I have shown that by far the greater part are of natural formation, both in the granite and gritstone formations. The few which are entirely, or partly, artificial are the exception. I apply the same remark to them as to the rocking-stones, that the priesthood took advantage of what was already formed by nature,³ and converted certain hollows into basins of a more perfect character, by which they sought to impose on a credulous people ; and the fact of our finding some in rocks not acted upon in the same manner by natural causes suffices to prove that they were in those instances entirely due to human agency. On the capstones of the large cromlechs in Northern Africa similar basins, but rectangular in shape, the largest 3 feet square and evidently cut by man, have been found, with shallow troughs leading from one basin to another "not so deep as the basins, and four inches broad";⁴ and Mr. Rhind also found on the summit of one of the long upright blocks, in the ortholithic ruins at Malta, which is 20 feet high, a "flat bottomed basin, 3 feet 8 inches long by 1 foot broad, and 10 inches deep," hollowed out by the hand of man. And though M. Fouquet has never seen any on cromlechs⁵ (or dolmens), we find from the very unquestionable authority

¹ Gorsedd, "a supreme seat"; gorseddu, "to preside"; singularly like the Arabic *korsi*, a chair or throne.

² Journal, vol. xvi, pp. 101-108.

³ On similar deceptions, see Colonel Hamilton Smith's *Nat. Hist. of the Human Species*, p. 35, note. ⁴ Suprà, p. 33.

⁵ Fenton (Hist. Pembrokeshire, p. 24) mentions a basin cut on the top of a cromlech at Trefculhwch near Fishguard.



Fig. 1.



Beehive Hut, Brown Willy, Cornwall.

Fig. 2.



Hut circle, near Castor, Dartmoor.

of Mr. Rhind that they do occur there, as well as on rocks, and that they are attributable to human agency.

xii. The *concentric rings* and markings on stones have also been mentioned by me,¹ and I therefore think it unnecessary to add more on this subject. But it is satisfactory to know that others have since been found in Northumberland, and that a description of them, as well as of those above alluded to, will shortly be given by Mr. Tate, of Alnwick; whose son has lately discovered a singular emblem carved on one of the fallen "trilithons" at Stonehenge. Convoluted ornaments are common on many megalithic monuments, as at New Grange, in Ireland ; at Gavr Innis, in the Morhiban ; and even at the Torre dei Giganti, in Gozo,² where they resemble rude Greek scrolls (see plate 2, fig. 18).

xiii. The *hut-circle, domed* and *bee-hive* huts (see plate 7, figs. 1 and 2), I have described in a paper on Carn Brea, published in the Annual Reports of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1860, and I have offered some remarks on their construction in vol. xvii of this *Journal*. Hut-circles abound on Dartmoor.³ They are invariably circular. The rectangular one among those above Merivale Bridge is evidently of much later date, having been built over the wall of an older enclosure ; and the same remark applies to the few met with in other places. They are generally about 23 feet in diameter (internally). The stones forming their walls, which are often from 4 feet to 8 feet in length, are placed upright, or on their ends, or on their edges, close together, sometimes in one, sometimes in two rows ; with a doorway consisting of two upright stones covered by a lintel. Some few have a triple row of stones in their walls, and the upper blocks either lie across them, or follow the circular direction of the walls, the conical roof having been made of rafters covered with bushes, straw, or other perishable materials.

I shall presently have occasion to show⁴ that the hut-circles of Northumberland were very similar, in their form,

¹ *Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 118-121.

² Gozo di Malta, already mentioned in p. 23, 112. If I have occasionally introduced what I have said before in this, or other papers, I hope that allusions to the same subject will excuse the repetition.

³ It is remarkable that the Celtic name for "hut," *cwt*, or *cwt* (pl. *cyttiau*) signifies also "roundness."

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 120.

dimensions, and general character, to those of Southern Britain; and this fact is the more important since some have imagined the latter to be of very late date, and the mere rude huts of English miners. It is true they *may* have been inhabited to a late time, but neither this nor modern occupancy would alter their original date; and though they may have continued to be inhabited, and some to be built on the same model, in those secluded districts, during Saxon and even later times, they have not less claim to be of the family, and to illustrate the character, of older British habitations. Walls of such ponderous blocks are not such as miners would stop to construct, however gladly they might avail themselves of them if already built; many are in places where no mines ever existed, and the same type of hut-circle is found from the north to the south of our island. In some other parts of Britain the roof was domed, and formed of small stones; but such huts are readily distinguished by the mound in their centre, formed by the materials of the fallen dome.

The bee-hive huts are built of large stones, varying in size according to the nature of the rocks that supplied them, and the roof consists of slabs overlapping each other till they reach the centre, which is capped by a single block. An instance may be seen in vol. xvii of this *Journal*, plate 1, and a full account is given of some in Ireland in vol. xv of the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, as well as in Mr. Petrie's admirable work on the "Round Towers of Ireland." See also my paper in *Report, R. Inst. Cornwall*, 1860.

There is another kind of house roofed like the bee-hive hut with overlapping stones, but constructed in the thickness of a massive wall, a good instance of which may be seen at Chysoster, near Penzance, and which has been well described in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* (vol. xviii, pp. 39-46) by Mr. Blight.

Hut-circles are often scattered over a large space, as in the neighbourhood of Prince Town, on Dartmoor; on the way to Hayter Tor, and near the tramway to King Tor, in the same neighbourhood; on the north of Hessary Tor; about Throwlsworthy; about Castor; on the hill opposite, and due north of, the rocking-stone of Rippon Tor; and in various parts of Dartmoor. Those above Merivale

bridge¹ are very interesting and very accessible, being close to the high road from Prince Town; and their position and the extent of ground they cover may be seen from my plan in plate 8; which is a continuation of that I previously gave in vol. xvi of this *Journal*, plate 7, to illustrate the question of the form and direction of avenues or *parallelithons*. Among them will be seen the rectangular house already alluded to, which I have shown in my above-mentioned paper on Carn Brea to be of later date than the hut-circles; and in the same locality are some low oblong mounds, the date and object of which are uncertain, though I believe them to be of very late time (see the plan).

In one or two instances a *cist-væn* has been found within a hut-circle: one below Hound Tor, another among the many huts between Prince Town and Leedon Tor, and another below Rippon Tor; though this last appears rather to come under the denomination of circle-carn. It is however very possible that an individual may have been buried in his own house, which at his death became his tomb.

In some parts of Britain the huts were doubtless of reeds and stakes, as described by Diodorus, and many had mere wattled walls; and this seems to be confirmed by the Celtic word *adail*, "building," signifying really "wattling."

xiv. The *walled village*, and *pound*. The former, on Dartmoor, consists of a mere wall of circumvallation, built of large stones placed upright on their ends, or on their edges, or sometimes flat on the ground as in horizontal work; and the upper blocks are placed, as in large hut-circles, either across the thickness of the wall or in the line of its direction. In many walls a principle of construction has been adopted, which I have also observed in those of the Cyclopean building called the *Torre dei Giganti*, "Giant's tower" in Gozo (already mentioned).² This consisted in fixing tall upright blocks here and there upright in the ground, with a row of large stones on their edges in the space between them, the upright blocks serving as binders, and preventing the intermediate ones from sliding sideways out of their places.³

Of these walled villages the most remarkable is Grims-

¹ The spot obtained the name of "the plague market" during the plague at Tavistock, from the market held there at that time.

² Pp. 112, 115.

³ Vol. xvii of this *Journal*, pl. 3.

pound, below Hamilton Down.¹ It has a diameter of 502 feet by 447 feet, including the walls; and twenty-five hut-circles still remain within its area. The walls are from 9 feet, or 9 feet 4 inches, to 10 feet 10 inches in thickness, composed of large granite blocks, one of which measures 7 feet in length by 4 feet in breadth; another 8 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 3 inches; and a third 9 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. A stream of water runs through one end of its area; and its position is well chosen to command the passage over the hills, and to intercept the communications through this part of the country. Here no doubt the old road passed from the east side of Dartmoor, traversing this difficult hilly country towards the west; and the position of the old bridge (at what is now called Post bridge) shows that it ran in former times directly in the line of Grimsound and of the valley in which it stands, between the heights of Hamilton and Hooknor Tor. The stones of the walls are far from being "thrown loosely together," as has been stated; and its site has not been chosen without due consideration of its merits in a military point of view. For though we should now consider it to be commanded by the hills on either side, the summit of one of which (Hooknor Tor) is distant only 1330 feet, this was no objection in olden times for the position of a fortified town; and the strong city of Mycenæ, in Greece, is more immediately under a lofty hill, from which every movement of the garrison could be descried; and the same may be said of Greaves-ash in Northumberland, and other places. And as the object at Grimsound² was to stop the enemy at this pass, it would be a matter of very little importance whether one or two agile spies ascended the hills to watch the operations of the garrison. Its hut-circles are of the usual size and construction; some being 16 feet 8 inches, others 15 feet 10 inches, 13 feet 10 inches, 12 feet 3 inches, or 10 feet 7 inches in diameter, and the doorways are generally turned towards the south.

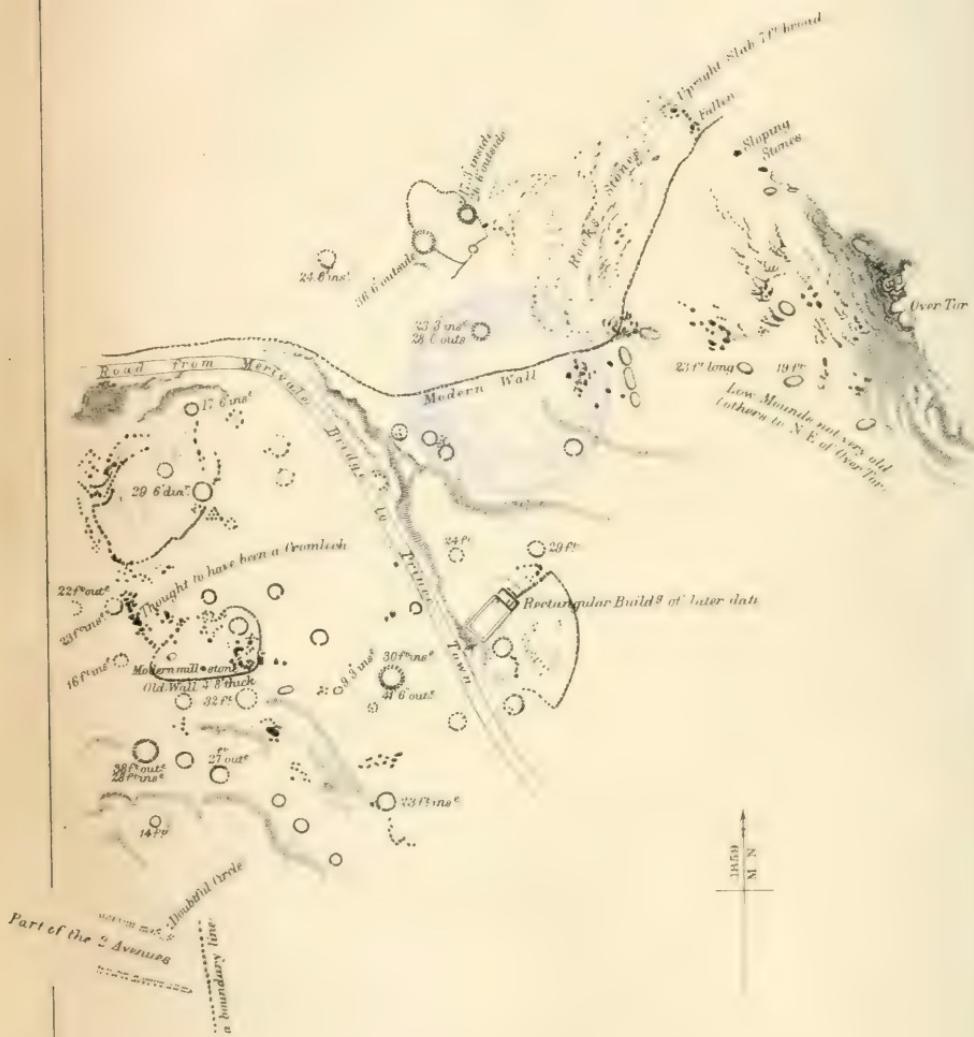
On its eastern side was the entrance to the place, about 15 feet to the south of the present passage, which has been

¹ This name is common in various parts of England, from Northumberland to Devonshire and Surrey; and is often more properly written Hamble-dun, or Hamil-dun. "Down" is merely a repetition of the last part of the name, "dun," hill.

² Some derive this name from the Celtic *grym* "strength," rather than from the Saxon *grim*.



HUT CIRCLES ABOVE MERIVALE BRIDGE.



S C A L E

0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 FEET

forced through the wall, and by which the modern road leads towards Manaton ; and in that part some fallen long-stones, now nearly buried in the ruined wall, mark the site of the gateway, of which they formed the pillars. The present entrance, on the west side, is also forced through the wall. Various blocks of stone lie in the extensive area of the place, and close to the walls are heaps of smaller fragments used at a later time by shepherds as a temporary shelter. Grimsound is an irregular circle, and the ground has a gradual slope from south to north. (See my plan in plate 2, fig. 19). It is said to stand about 1740 feet above the sea.

Other "pounds" or circular enclosures of smaller dimensions are met with in various parts of Dartmoor ; but none of the same importance as Grimsound, and few contain more than one or two hut-circles. That near Castor, called Roundy-pound, is strongly built, the walls being 6 feet 2 inches thick, and composed of large blocks, some 7 feet 3 inches, others 7 feet 1 inch long by 3 feet 1 inch broad ; and the diameter of its outer enclosure is 106 feet. It consists of an outer and inner circle. The latter is 47 feet in diameter ; and some of the stones of its massive walls measure 6 feet 7 inches, or 6 feet, in length, by 3 feet 1 inch in breadth (plate 2, fig. 20). The space between the outer and inner circles has been divided into several spaces by walls radiating towards the centre, similar to those at Greavesash in Northumberland, at Chûn Castle, and other places, probably intended for securing and penning sheep. The door of the outer circle opens towards the north-west, that of the inner one to the south, the former being 4 feet 8 inches, the latter less than 3 feet in width.

The "pounds" in the old village above Merivale bridge are less regular, but contain one or more hut-circles (as may be seen from the plan, plate 8). At Throwlsworthy warren is a large "pound" about 90 feet by 70 feet in diameter, and another on the hill opposite Rippon Tor ; and besides the Donnebridge and Erme pounds, there are many others in various parts of Dartmoor. Nor are they peculiar to the south of our island ; and the same kind of walled town¹ is found in Northumberland, at Chesters, Greaves-

¹ The custom of living in towns is implied by the expression still common in Welsh, "*myned a dre*," to go home, being literally "to go to the town" (*tre*).

ash, and other places, having also within its area a number of hut-circles similar in size and construction to those on Dartmoor.

At Greaves-ash, on the Linhope,¹ a tributary of the Breamish, is a fortified position, which consists of three distinct parts: the upper town or citadel; a smaller central fort, probably the abode of the chief; and the main town; in all of which are hut-circles, built of stones placed, some upright, some on their edges, and some horizontally. They are mostly from about 16 to 22 feet in diameter, internally. Similar in general aspect, these hut-circles differ in certain details from those of the south, having the interior paved with rude flat porphyry stones (from the hill on which they stand), and a low bench of similar flat stones extending round the inside of the hut along the wall, about two to four inches above the level of the floor, and measuring about 5 feet in breadth, gradually decreasing to about 1 foot as it approaches the doorway. On this low bench the inmates probably slept, the fire being lighted in the centre of the hut. The doorway itself has a threshold about 3 inches high, forming a ledge against which the door shut from the inside. It is about 6 feet in breadth; and the imposts are built of stones (like the walls), instead of being single upright pillars as in the Dartmoor hut-circles. In other respects the houses are similar to those of the south, the walls low, and probably once covered by a thatched, or other perishable, roof.² The main town (which stands a little lower down the hill than the citadel and central fort) has a double wall of circuit, enclosing an inner and outer area, the former about 213 feet, the latter about 309 feet in diameter. The outer wall is 10 to 12 feet, the inner 5 to 7 feet in thickness; and the citadel, which consists of several compartments, is about 220 feet by 200 feet in diameter: but as the interesting remains of Greaves-ash (which have been excavated through the liberality of the Duke of Northumberland) will soon be described in full by Mr. Tate in the *Journal* of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club, I content myself with these few remarks, sufficing to show that the towns

¹ Its name is derived from its waterfall (*lin* or *lyn*), now called "Linhope spout." *Llyn*, in Welsh, is applied to a lake, or deep pool, even when not under a fall.

² The roofs could not have been "of stone," as there is no heap of fallen materials in the centre.

of our British ancestors were similar in their general character both in the northern and southern parts of the island. Some of the hill towns in Northumberland were inhabited till about 627 A.D., when, as Bede informs us (*Ecccl. Hist.*, c. 14), one of them, the royal country-seat of King Edwin, then called *Adgefrin*¹ (now Yevering, where the walls and huts are still visible), was abandoned on the king and the people becoming Christians, and another town was built below instead of it at a place called *Melmin*² (now Milfield).

“Pounds” are also found in Wales; and one on Rhôssili Down measures 60 feet in diameter, with a wall 6 feet 9 inches in thickness, composed of large stones placed on their sides or their edges, and forming its outer and inner face. The “Roundago” of Kerris, in Cornwall, is a similar enclosure, about 120 feet in its smallest diameter but irregularly elliptical, built of large granite blocks,³ two of which, placed as upright pillars, seem to mark the entrance on the south side, though unusually distant from each other. Its south side is partly based on the rock, which there forms a platform; and it now encloses a field within its area. About 280 yards to the northward is a “longstone,” 9 to 10 feet broad and 7 feet high (near which, in an adjoining field, is a smaller fallen one with a square trough cut in it, of late time); and in the same direction, and about 280 yards from the first, is another “longstone” at Tresvenneck farm. Similar “longstones” are numerous in this part of the country.

xv. *The boundary lines*, which, like some of the enclosure walls, consist of large upright blocks, often extend for miles over hills and valleys. They abound on Dartmoor, and are found, similarly constructed, in Cornwall, in Wales, and in other parts of the country. They have sometimes been called “trackways”; but as they are evidently single walls, and could not have been used for roads, that appellation does not properly belong to them. Some of the hills over which they stretch bear the traces of early cultivation, especially in Wales; and it has been conjectured that the hill-tops were often cleared and tilled by the ancient Britons, while the lower lands were covered with dense woods.

¹ In Celtic *cyfrin* signifies “secret,” and the name Yevering appears to have been substituted from its resemblance to the old word.

² *Melin* is the Celtic word for a “mill.”

³ This “Roundago” has been much ruined and altered; many of the stones having been carried away, like others in Cornwall and Devonshire, to serve for other purposes.

xvi. *Roads* of British time are not always easily identified, as many were afterwards used and altered in Roman and later times ; and few perhaps retain their original character. Some however may still be traced ; and there is little doubt that many modern roads pass over the sites of those of our early ancestors ; for all the large towns, as the Caerwents (*Venta Belgarum*, *Icenorum*, and *Silurum*), Caerwysg¹ (*Exeter*), and many more of pre-Roman time (having British names translated or corrupted by the Romans), had regular communications with others in their vicinity ; and roads extended throughout the whole length and breadth of the land. They were required for trading and other purposes ; the products of the mines were conveyed to the coast opposite to Gaul, and to other places : and the very fact of the Britons having chariots implies roads on which they ran. Cæsar, too, only discovered the ford of the Thames from the road that happened to lead that way, when he advanced by it to attack Cassivelaunus. It is evident also that the positions of several British fortified places (*oppida*) were selected because they commanded the high roads through the country ; and that the roads were often purposely carried in certain directions in order to force an enemy to pass beneath those strongholds on his way to a ford over a river, or to some place of importance which it was thought necessary to protect, by those outworks, from his attack. Such was the camp on St. George's hill, near Weybridge (miscalled "Cæsar's Camp"), which commanded the road from the south towards the ford of the Thames (at Cowey² Stakes), and which was evidently formed there in consequence of Julius Cæsar having previously marched unopposed to the river when he crossed to attack Cassivelaunus (*Bell. Gall.*, v. 18). And this, with other reasons, leads me to conclude that most of the strong British camps that remain were constructed during the period between the invasion of Cæsar and the conquest of Britain by Claudius.

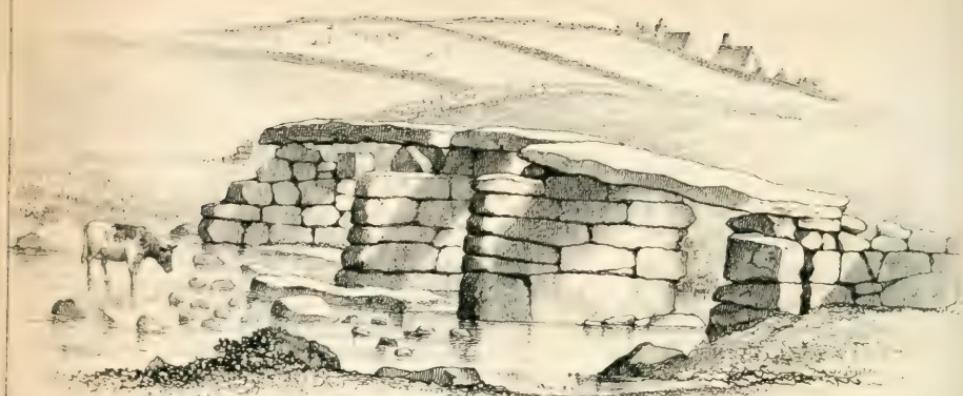
In some hilly districts the old British roads present a less altered appearance than those in places more frequented in later days. One leading from Teigncombe towards the hut-circles about Castor is thought to be British, altered

¹ These names shew that the Romans found towns (not mere camps) already existing, and latinized the old British *gwent* or *uent*, and the still older *uisig*.

² Perhaps derived from *ca* or *cau*, "shutting," and *wy*, "water."

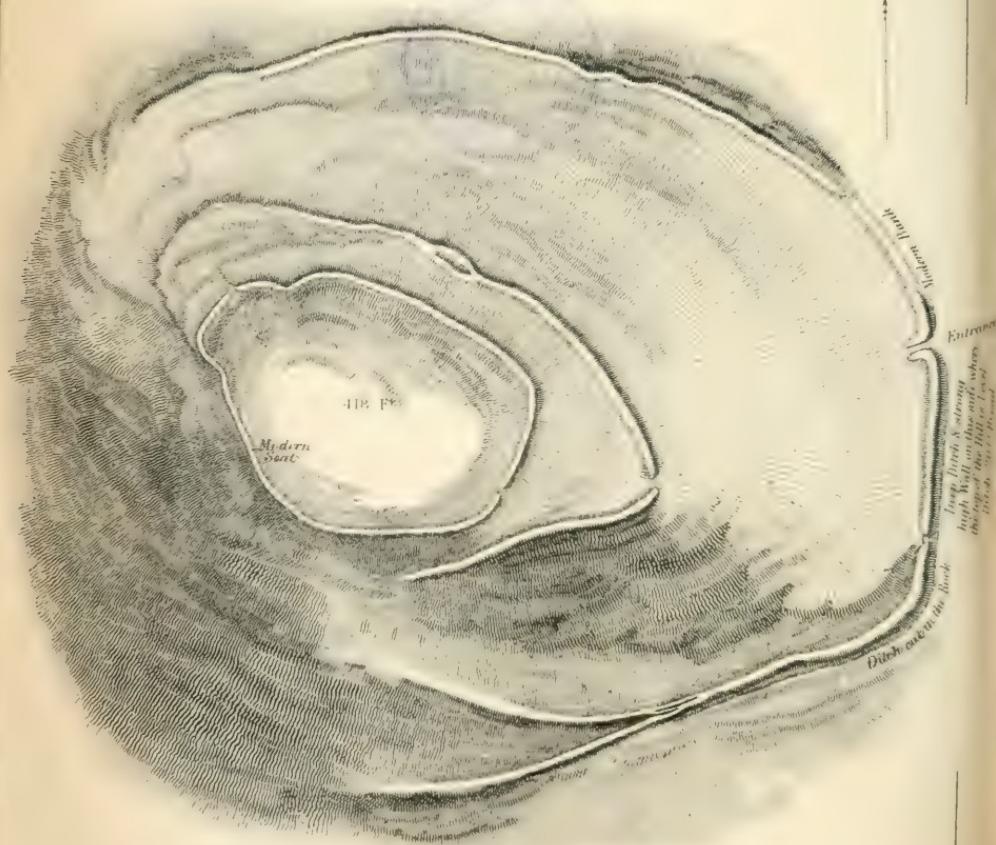


Fig. 1.



Old Post Bridge, Dartmoor.

Fig. 2.



Prestonbury Castle, a British Camp, Dartmoor.

0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET

here and there by more recent paving; at all events its general character is similar to that of the old British road, tortuous in parts, and paved (at least after the Roman conquest) with large flags wherever the rock was not present to form a level surface.

Those debouching on ancient camps are evidently of British origin, but they are rarely paved; and paving was probably learnt from the Romans, a fact in some degree confirmed by paved roads having the name "street" (*stratum*) still applied to them. They are for the most part sunken ways, and are furnished with a bank, from about three to four feet high (or with a stone wall on either side), like those on the Rhossili downs in South Wales, and in various parts of the country, as about the fortified towns at Greaves-ash, and other places in Northumberland.

In mentioning the use of chariots I may observe that the number of Celtic names they bore in Latin is remarkable. The Belgic four-wheeled petorritum is from *pedwar*, "four," and *rhód*, "wheel"; the Gaulish and British essedum is from *sedd*, a "seat"; the covinus or scythed car is from *cywain*, "to convey"; carrus is from *car*, a "frame" or "drag"; and the Gaulish light rheda is from *rhedeg*, "to run," or from *rhéd*, "a run" (*cf. currus*). The trimareal¹ (*tre-march*, "three horses"), mentioned by Pausanias (x, 19, 9), in the Gallic army signified a horseman attended by two slaves, also mounted men; which accounts for the name.

XVII. *Bridges* of large flat slabs, resting on one or more piers, of which some remarkable instances occur on Dartmoor, have been attributed to the Britons. It is difficult to determine their date. One near Post bridge is a good type of these structures (plate 9, fig. 1). It has three openings, formed by two piers consisting of six tiers of stones in horizontal courses, which presenting a rounded point to the stream, with a similar point at the lower side in order to enable the water to flow past without any eddy or back-water, are constructed on an excellent principle. On these two piers are placed large slabs of stone. The first, measuring 15 ft. by 6 ft. 10 in., occupies the whole breadth of the bridge; the central opening is covered by two slabs, side

¹ The reading *trimaricia* appears to be erroneous; and his saying "the Gallic word for a horse is *marka*," requires it to be *τριμαρκα*. One reading gives *τριμαρκιστα*; and this has been supposed to be compounded of *tri-march-ywys*, the last being a termination signifying "people," as in *Lloegwys*, etc.

by side,—one 12 ft. 3 long by 4 ft. 3; and the other 3 ft. 11 in breadth (which has fallen into the stream below); and the third is covered by a slab 15 ft. 3 long by 6 ft. It crosses the East Dart; and about five miles farther, on the same road, just before reaching Prince Town, is a smaller bridge over the Blackabrook, of two openings, each covered by a single block resting on a pier between the two banks. There are other larger bridges in this part of Devonshire, some of which have four and five openings; and single slabs laid from bank to bank frequently span smaller streams, like the bridge over the Wallabrook, near the circle on Gidleigh Common; and four hundred and fifty feet beyond this, another over the North Teign, which consists of two long blocks of granite side by side; and here the bank has been carefully supported by masonry. Though these slabs are not the original bridges, they are probably similar to them in the simplicity of their construction; and the many later bridges of the same kind in Devonshire and Cornwall are doubtless copies of the rude types of earlier days.

XVIII. *Camp, caer, dinas, din, and castell.* The four last are Celtic words. *Caer* signifies a camp (like the Latin *castrum*), supposed to be derived from *cae*, “enclosure,” and is applied to any fortified place, and hence to a walled town, as Caerleon, Caerwent, and others. *Dinas* is a “city” or a “fortress,” perhaps originally on a hill; *din* is also a hill fort; and *castell*, a later word, is a “castle.” In parts of Pembrokeshire, as in Ireland, the camp is called *rath*.

Camps are not numerous on Dartmoor; but those of Wooston, Cranbrook, and Prestonbury, are worthy of notice. They are about three miles from Moreton-Hampstead. The title of “castle” is attached to all their names, as is frequently the case with old camps in England and Wales.¹ Wooston Castle lies on the slope of a hill; and a knoll in the lower part of it, immediately above the river Teign, is occupied by the keep, or body of the camp. At the upper part is an outer agger and ditch; to which succeeds a second line of defence with a winding ditch, forming a covertway partly lined with masonry, through which the garrison might make a sortie against an enemy, or retire before him, and reenter the works. It forms, with the other two camps, a combined

¹ In one called Nottle Tor Camp, in Gower, are remains of cockleshells, calling to mind the *kjökken-moddings* of Denmark, on a small scale. (V. Arch. Camb., Jan. 1862, p. 55.)

system of defence for this locality; and from its upper out-works they are both visible. Cranbrook is on the same side of the river, but not so immediately above its banks. It is on higher ground than the other two; distant from Wooston a mile and two thirds, and from Prestonbury three-quarters of a mile, and in a very commanding position. Its shortest diameter is about 500 ft., its longest about 700 feet from the centre of each agger, which is 21 ft. thick, with a ditch of 12 ft. and an outer agger of 7 ft., and a second ditch of 21 ft.; but these have nearly disappeared on one side, having probably been levelled and removed at a later time. It has two entrances, unusual in British camps of this size, with a projection or tower within the gateway on each side; but it possesses no very peculiar features, and is like many others which occupy the summit of a hill. The beginning of the name Cranbrook may originally have been *carn*, which is applied to any place having stone ruins; the walls being, as usual, built of rough stones.

Prestonbury Castle is a more extensive work. It is said to be "commanded" by Cranbrook Castle; but this term could not be applied to it as a British camp. It is on the opposite side of the river. It consists of an inner area, the keep, which measures 418 ft. by 410 in diameter, and includes rather more than the very point of the hill within its single *vallum*. (See plan in plate 9, fig. 2.) To this succeeds a second line of defence, consisting of a single *vallum*, which envelopes it only on the east, north, and part of the south sides; and the rest, being sufficiently defended by the steepness of the ground, was probably only secured by palisades. From its entrance to that of the inner *vallum* is a distance of 267 feet, and in other parts the two *valla* approach each other to within 50 feet. Beyond the second is a third or outer line of circumvallation, enclosing an area of much greater extent, its entrance being 450 feet from that of the last *vallum*. And here the arrangement I have so often noticed is distinctly carried out, whereby the three successive entrances are placed *en echelon*, or obliquely to each other, in order to prevent each inner one being raked when the enemy had forced the outer gate. These exterior areas, surrounding the keep or main camp, were intended not only to give additional strength to the place, but to hold the cattle, which were driven into them on the approach of



danger, and as I have elsewhere observed, confirm the statements of Cæsar respecting the quantity of cattle and sheep found in British camps when captured by the Romans. The outer ditch of Prestonbury is of great depth, 20 feet broad, and cut through the solid rock, in that part where the level ground required stronger artificial defences ; the agger is of great strength, and within its gateway is a reentering mound, or flank wall, on each side of the entrance passage, from which the besieged could throw missiles on the serried mass of the besiegers as they approached the recessed gate :— an arrangement often adopted in British camps. The outer *vallum*¹ extended rather more than half round the inner portion of the camp ; but on the S.W. and W. it was discontinued owing to the steepness of the hill, and on the S.S.E. it was divided into two lines of circuit in order to prevent the enemy from availing himself of accessible ground in that direction. Beyond this the palisades alone were continued, being thought sufficient without any agger or ditch to secure that precipitous face of the works, which overlooked the rapid descent to the river.

There is also a camp to the W.S.W. of Ashburton called Henbury (*i. e.*, Hén-bré, “old hill”) Castle, which is computed to contain an area of about seven acres. It guarded the valley of the Dart, and by its commanding position was able to communicate by means of beacons with the south and north to a considerable distance, a mode of conveying intelligence which could be made available from height to height throughout the whole district.

As I hope to have another opportunity of noticing the camps of the Britons, I here confine myself to those on Dartmoor ; but before I conclude I beg to explain some remarks made by me in vol. xvi of this *Journal*, where (p. 121, note) I insisted on the relationship between the name Wales and Gael, Gaul, or other forms of that word.²

It has been stated by a most learned authority, the Bishop of St. David's,³ that my remark respecting *gu* being changed into *w* “is not at all applicable to the present

¹ I use *vallum* for the *agger* and its ditch (whether the *agger* is a wall, or of earth, or of rough stones), together with its palisades ; for though originally derived from these last, it came to signify the whole defence.

² I am glad to be confirmed in this opinion by several eminent Celtic scholars, among whom I may mention Mr. E. Norris.

³ In a paper read at a meeting of the Philological Society, Feb. 14, 1861.

question, for here *w* should have been substituted not for *gu*, but for *g'*; and I was certainly wrong in confining my brief remarks to the limits of a note, when I ought to have extended them still farther, and have shown that *w* is also substituted for *g*, though his lordship maintains that “there is no analogy to lead us to expect that this should have taken place in any one instance.” I may however observe that we have frequent instances of *w* and *v* used instead of *g*. *Vascones*, *Wascan* in Anglo-Saxon, answers to *Gascons*; *Walinga*, or *Walling* (*ford*) is *Gallorum* (*vadum*); *golpe* is put for *volpe* in Italian; *wage* answers to *gage* in French, and *ware* (beware) to *gare*; and in many other words *g* holds the place of *w*, especially where the *hard sound of g* is required. And, indeed, I believe the Anglo-Saxons, in the appellation they gave to the Welsh, substituted *w* for *g* of the older name which had been applied to that and other *Celtic* people, because this name was easily converted into a word of their own having a meaning supposed to resemble it and to suit the people; and they changed *Gael* or *Gaul* into *Wealh*, “foreigner,” as the modern Greeks have converted “*Babaroī*” (*Bavarians*) into “*Barbaroī*” (*barbarians*). This I shall notice more fully as I proceed.

His lordship says that such words as *guard* and *ward* “belong to an entirely different class,” the initial being “dropped for facility of pronunciation”; but letters are only dropped in certain instances, and not where the *custom* of one language demands the use of *gu* and the *custom* of another demands that of *w*. He will, therefore, I trust pardon me if I doubt the *g* being “dropped” in such words as *ward*, and if I ascribe the change to the difference in the *genius* of the language to which they belong. The Arab who says *wardi* for *guardi* (“take care!”) does not drop the *g*, he *changes the sound* and adopts his own; as the Greek who says *sems* for *shems* (“sun”) does not drop the *h*, but substitutes *s* for the *sh* which he has not; and when a Frenchman pronounces *t* for *th* he does not drop the *h*, but uses another sound.

There *are* several words in various languages where letters are dropped, as *Andaluz* for *Vandaluz*; and in the Sanscrit *Vinsati*, the Zend *Visaiti*, and the Latin *Viginti*, where the *d* of *dvi*, *dva*, and *duo* is omitted, though preserved in the Slavonic *dva-deset*, and in the German

zwanzig (whence our *twenty*) : the *g* of the Welsh *gwyn*, “white,” is dropped in *wyn*; and *wy*, “water,” was originally *gwry*, or *hwyl*, whence *hwyd*, a “duck,” the *gw* being preserved in the names *gwydd*, “goose,” *gwylan*, “gull,” and the river *Gwyl* or *Gwili*. These do certainly “belong to a different class.” Sometimes, on the other hand, the *g* is added before the *w*; but these changes are not the result of a *lingual custom*, like that of *w* or *v* into *gu*, *gw*, and *g*, in cognate languages, as in the Latin and Welsh *vir* and *gwr*,¹ “man,” *viridis* and *gwyrrid*, “green,” and so many more, where the change is an established one—not merely an accidental or arbitrary dropping of the initial letter—and where one particular sound is substituted for another. And since we have many instances of the *w* standing in the place of *g*, as well as of *gu* and *gw*, some of which I shall presently have occasion to mention, I do not think I was in error in maintaining the probability of the root of “Wales” and “Gael” or “Gaul” being the same.²

In stating this I did not pretend to deny that *we* received our word “Welsh” from the Anglo-Saxons, nor did I deny that they applied the term *Wealh*, and others, signifying “foreigner” in their language, to the Welsh; all I wished to suggest was that Wales being peopled by a Celtic or Gaulish race, the Anglo-Saxons substituted for that generic name of the race a word of their own language. I did not certainly mean, nor could it be supposed that I meant, “the *Cymry* had ever adopted the word *val* for a foreigner”; it was never so used by them, nor does a *Cymro*³ now call himself a “Welshman,” except while conforming to English custom.

If we adopted the names “Wales” and “Welsh” it was from the previous use of words resembling them by the Anglo-Saxons, as we have derived our name for the capital of Upper Egypt from Θηβαι or *Thebae*, substituted by the

¹ Irish, *fear*; Anglo-Saxon, *Wer*.

² In Wales and Cornwall the Gaulish or Celtic tongue was preserved, and hence the name of the people who spoke it. It is worthy of remark that Max Müller, quoting Weinhold, says “William (the Conqueror) introduced Welsh, i.e. French, into England,” shewing that the word Welsh was applied to the French as a Gaulish people. (Lect. on Lang., p. 177.)

³ Cambria is a later corruption of Cymru, the *b* being inserted, as in many words in other languages: thus, *gwâith Emrys* (our Stonehenge), “the work of Eurys” (a name of Merlin, who was thought to have built Stonehenge, and to have transferred his name to the neighbouring Amesbury) is changed into Ambrosius; the Arabic Al-hamra, “the red” (building) has become Al-hambra; and the Tamar has been called Tambra, etc.

Greeks and Romans for the native name *Tápé* or *Thábé*; and as we adopt the name of *Abooseer* because it was substituted by the Arabs for *Busiris*, from a supposed resemblance between the two names. *Albion*, again, thought to have been given to our country from its *white* cliffs, was the old British word *Alban*, said to be derived from *alb*, "highland";¹ *ginnayn-al-araf*² has been converted by the Spaniards into *generalife*; the Greeks pretended that the name of the goddess Isis was from a word of their own implying "knowledge"; *Julia Cæsarea* has been changed into *Algæzir*, "the islands" (Algiers); *Fynnon Uisg*, "spring of water," is corrupted into *Phænix* (Park, at Dublin); the nine *maen* ("stones"), the *maen* ("stone") castle, and the (*maen*) stone (paved) way, have become the "nine maidens," the "maiden castle," and the "maiden way"; *buffetier* has assumed the form of "beef-eater"; and numerous other examples of this kind of substitution of one word for another of a somewhat similar sound may be found in most countries.

The Anglo-Saxons were not of course averse to this general custom; and they, too, appear to have corrupted names taken from other languages. *Weall* in Anglo-Saxon means "foreigner," and *wal* is the same in the Teuto-Gothic tongue, as his Lordship observes; and it may mean so "with reference to language" to which it was applied as being "incomprehensible;" but were *weal* and *wal* given to all "foreigners?" If so, and if all the names we find applied by the Anglo-Saxons to the Welsh were words of various cases, and numbers, signifying "foreigner," there would be no denying that they had that general signification and application; but they were not used to denote *all strangers*; and many of the names given to the Welsh have a corrupted form, such as might be expected in names derived from a foreign source.³

¹ It certainly applies more appropriately to Scotland than to South Britain, and is its name in Welsh. To the Alps it would be well suited. The Swiss say *alp* properly signifies pasture lands on mountains, not mountain peaks.

² "The garden of the (master, or skilful,) architect."

³ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle speaks of the Welsh language as "*Bryt-wylsc*," of the country as "*Brytlund*," of the people as "*Bret-Walus*" or "*Bret-Weales*," and of the race as "*Wealcyn*." It speaks of the "*Walum*" with the "*Scotum*" and "*Brytum*," and calls them also "*Wealun*," "*Welscan*," "*Walus*," "*Wylsca*," "*Wala*," "*Wealan*," "*Welisce*," "*Wyliscan*," "*Weale*," "*Wealles*," "*Wylisce*," "*Walana*," which last name was also given to a people of North Britain. *Wælsc*, *Wælisc*, or *Welisc*, signified "belonging to (*Weale*) Wales."

If *wealas* simply signified "foreigners," Cornwealas "Cornishmen," would imply foreigners of that district; but this could scarcely be maintained, especially as its name *Cornubia*, *Cornuualia*, or *Cornwalas*, was actually written in Latin of the time, "*Cornu-gallia*"¹—a fact sufficiently to the point, proving how *w* took the place of *g*, as well as of *gu*; which is further confirmed by the name of *Walbrook*, formerly *Nant-gall*, being derived from *L. Gallus* who perished there;² as well as by the above mentioned name of *Walinga* or *walling* (ford) having been the old *Gallorum Vulum*.³ Again *Bretwalas* is an evident substitute for *Brito-galli*; and there seems little doubt that the Anglo-Saxon appellation *Wala* or *Walas* was applied to the Cymry, or Welsh, from its resemblance to the general and generic name, *Gael* or *Gaul*, by which they and other Celtic tribes were commonly known.⁴ And since the Teutonic races did not apply that name to "foreigners" generally, but to *those only* who were considered to be of *Gael*, or *Celtic* origin, as the Welsh, Walloons, Northern Italians, and others, there is sufficient evidence of its connexion in the Teutonic mind with the Celtic name of which it was originally a corruption. The names *Britain* and *British* are derived from the native word *Prydain*, "beautiful," and *Brython*, "warrior."⁵ And in mentioning this it is not irrelevant to observe that *Brython* was not the name of the race; this was *Celtic* or *Gaulish*; of which the *Brython* or *Briton* tribes were a branch.

Whatever may have been the origin of the name *Celt* (*Kelt*), it is not probable that the Celts would have applied it to themselves if, like *Caledonia*, it had been derived from the root *ccl* "concealed;" but, while I agree with his Lord-

¹ Galacum, or Gallacum, was also the name of Whalop, or Whallop Castle, in Westmoreland.

² Camden, p. 312.

³ Some supposed it to be Calleva, or Caleba; Camden thinks it was Galena, and that Walwick was Gallana (pp. 807, 849). He then observes, that names which in British "began with *gall*," the English turned into *wall*," and instances "*gall Sever*," wall of Severus; but this was properly *gual*. Some have derived *Walinga* from *gual hén*, old wall; but should not this be *hén gual*? The addition of *rhyd* (ford) might have sanctioned the placing of this exceptional adjective after the substantive *gual*.

⁴ The French name for Wales, *Pays de Galles*, may also be connected with this generic appellation. It matters little whether they called *themselves Gauls*, if they were so called by others.

⁵ Britain may justly say that she has always been the land of "beautiful" women and "brave" men.

ship that they would scarcely have taken to themselves a name implying a “people who dwelt in the covert of dense forests,” I think it equally unlikely that the name suggested the idea of “religious mystery;” for if applied to the priesthood it would not have been given to the whole people; and though we English may pronounce the letter C as S, there is no authority for considering the names “*Celi*” (properly pronounced Keli) and “*Selli*” in any way analogous.

We pronounce *cell* as *sell*, but no one would suppose that a word written like the latter was related to *cil* or *kil*; as, for instance, in names such as Kildare, Columb-kil, and Cil-Ifor, in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. And we do not yet know that Celt was derived from the root *cel*.¹

The authority of eminent writers affords little satisfactory information respecting the names of Gaul and Celt (Kelt); but we know that the *Galli* of the Latins were the Κέλται of the Greeks.² Again Γαλατία was the name for Gaul, and Γαλάται (Galatians) for the Gauls of Asia Minor. Galat(æ), then, has as good a claim to be the name of the Gauls as Gall(i); and if the addition of the *t* presents no objection in “*Galatæ*,” there is no reason for its doing so in “*Keltæ*;” and *g*, *c*, and *k* are transmutable letters. Galli and Κέλται are names of the same race, the one in Latin, the other in Greek; and if there is no objection to Galatæ, being the name of the Gauls, I cannot really find any to Κέλται being from the same root gael, gal, or gaul.³

The question whether *aqua* might have been originally *asqua* was only thrown out by me incidentally, without any wish to put it forth as an opinion; and his Lordship is no doubt quite right in considering that *aqua* answers to *ap* or *ab* “water”; but I hope he will excuse my observing that it ought not to be considered as *derived from* or “coming from the Sanscrit *ap* ‘water,’ ” being in fact another form of the word in *another cognate language*. I beg him also to pardon me if I state that his objection to my opinion—that the earliest name for a river among a rude people would be “the water;” then “the stream,” or the running water, or the river, and then a specification of each stream under a

¹ Some pretend that *celt* is applied to woody, and *gael* to plain, land; but such derivations are very questionable, and it would be quite as allowable to derive *gall*, *gael*, or *gal*, from the Celtic word *gallu* or *gall*, power.

² Κέλτοι in Herodotus, ii, 33.

³ Galen says, “Καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι μὲν Γαλάτας, ἔνιοι δὲ Γάλλους.”

particular name,—does not appear to be well founded ; and I do not think he has adduced any good argument, or evidence, to disprove it. The frequent occurrence in Celtic names, of *wisk*, *usk*, and *dour*, for rivers, appears to be a stronger argument for my opinion than the solitary instance he brings forward from Sanscrit can be against it. Moreover, the greater antiquity of Sanscrit is not to the point. I do not say that the *oldest people* used those terms ; but nations in their infancy ; and with the infancy of the people whose language was Sanscrit we are unacquainted. What Sanscrit (as we know it), or even any modern language, may do, is not the question. The Sanscrit may have a word implying “river,” and Punjab may be of later date than the Sanscrit name ; but the question is what word was used in the *earliest times* in *each* language. *Uisg*, *dwr*, and *wy*, may be of later date than the Sanscrit, still, like the Persian *ab*, they signify “water”; they were applied to rivers at an early period of the Celtic language, and they appear to be older than the term “river” (or “running water”) in the *same* language ; as this last is older than the specific names of rivers in the *same* language. The specific *names* of rivers, too, are often derived from the earlier appellation ; as Rhine, Rhone, Thames, and others.

I am, however, very happy to be corrected in any opinion I may venture to express ; and am greatly obliged to his Lordship for thus reminding me that in such questions our conclusions should not be hasty or premature ; and I hope I may be pardoned for differing (which I do with great deference) from so distinguished an authority.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 22, line 3, for “custom” read “customs.”

P. 23, line 19, on “Devon.”—In confirmation of the old name having been *Damnonii*, rather than *Danmonii*, I may mention the *Dannii* of Scotland and the *Domnonii* of Armorica.

P. 29, last line but one, on “a religious purpose.”—Fenton (*Hist. of Pembrokeshire*, p. 19) mentions a church built within a sacred circle in Cardiganshire, and another at Berachie in Scotland, arguing that a religious attachment to the spot had been handed down from olden times.

P. 36, line 3, the “(fig. 3)” should apply to the circle-carn.

P. 38, last line, on "avenue."—Since writing the above, I have visited a remarkable avenue near Benton in Pembrokeshire, which consists of much larger stones, and is of larger dimensions, than those of Dartmoor. Some of the stones measure as much as 4 ft. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and 2 ft. to 3 ft. in height, and stand from 10 to 12 ft. apart, though many approach to within 2 ft. of each other towards the northern part, where it divides into two branches. It varies in its direction; being at the southern end quite straight, then turning off abruptly (at an angle of 130°), it continues for the distance of about 620 ft. in a very slight curve, and there, in front of a large mass of rock, it separates into two other branches, one of which descends the hill to the N.E., in a winding course, to the distance of about 1,050 ft. In this part the stones are placed close together as in a wall; but upright, or on their edges, like the rest. The total length now visible is about 2,250 ft.; and its average breadth is 10 ft. 6 from stone to stone, or 14 ft. 6 including the stones. It has the appearance of a road, for which it is still used. Nor is there any monument now remaining to which it could have led; and though all the three branches seem to point towards the rock above mentioned, this is probably accidental. Other upright stones are seen near Benton, on the road towards Williamston, which may possibly be connected with this avenue; and about two miles off is a cromlech.

P. 40, line 3, for "not evidently blackened" read "not blackened."

P. 44, line 2, for "sometimes" read "3. Sometimes."

P. 45, line 18, after "Chillaccombe Down" add "(pl. 1, fig. 12.)"

P. 47, note, for "same kind of distinguishing" read "same distinguishing."

P. 48, at the end of note 2, add, "Another cromlech, near Newport in Pembrokeshire, is called *Llech y driebedd*."

P. 49, lines 9, 10, for "near Poitiers, which is" read "and one near Poitiers which are."

P. 50, line 21, on "Dictionary of 1632."—That the word cromlech was in use about 1580, is proved by G. Owen's calling the large three-pillared cromlech of Pentre-Evan "maen y gromlech"; and he says the people use the name "cromlech," though he thinks it should be *grymlech* ("stone of strength"). With regard to the opinion (stated in the *Hist. of St. David's*, p. 25) that "cromlechs were erected by a people unacquainted with the use of metals, and consequently confined to the sea coast and places naturally devoid of wood," I may observe that they are by no means confined to such localities, but are frequently in places abounding in wood, and far from the sea coast. They prove no more respecting the use of metals than did the erection of the altars mentioned in Exodus xx, 25, and Deut. xxvii, 5, 6, on which "an iron tool" was not to be used. Nor do cromlechs "lie mostly in the trap formation," being abundant amidst the Llandeilo and other Silurian rocks, and the granites of Cornwall.

P. 51, note of "bascauda" should be on "basket-work" in p. 52, line 13.

P. 52, line 19, for "noted stone" read "holed stone."

ON UNPUBLISHED DEVONSHIRE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

As the manuscripts which I am about to bring under the notice of the meeting have never hitherto appeared in any printed work,—nay more, since they have, *mirabile dictu*, escaped the observation of almost all those who are, or have been, either locally or generally, interested in the history and antiquities of this county, I venture to hope that the remarks which I propose to offer respecting them may lead to a closer investigation into these and similar sources of information. I trust, likewise, that the recognised importance of such documents may induce those amongst us who have the power of so doing to bring forward and make public any historical records which they may possess; since there can be little doubt but that in this, as indeed in every other county in England, many instruments must exist, both amongst the public archives and in private collections, which would prove of infinite value and interest not only to families and individuals in the various counties to which they respectively relate, but also to historians and antiquaries throughout the length and breadth of our land, if they were only brought to light and their contents duly utilized for the public benefit.

It would be far from my purpose on the present occasion to deliver a discourse concerning the uses of such documents. It will be sufficient for me to observe that since (to employ a seeming paradox) the archaeological mind is, as you know, for ever upon the alert for something new respecting anything that is old, therefore the MSS. I am about to describe to you should claim your attention as archaeologists on this ground, if upon no other; and so I shall proceed at once to give you some insight into their nature and contents, merely premising that their extent will preclude anything like minute details, and trusting that those who have leisure and inclination will at some future period, should they feel so disposed, investigate them more fully for themselves.

The first document, then, to which I would invite your

attention is a vellum roll, four feet nine inches in length by nine inches and a quarter in width, numbered ii, 11, amongst the Cottonian Rolls. It is a cartulary containing copies made in the thirteenth century of twenty-one charters relating to the church of Crediton between the years *circa* 938 and 1254, and the roll is curious not only as throwing light upon the early history of the church of that city, which was the chief episcopal seat of the diocese between the times of Bishops *Æ*dalph and Leofric (905-1050), and as containing one of the earliest authentic records we possess concerning the bishopric of Devonshire,¹ but also as giving us an insight into the belief, habits, and pursuits, of the people of these early ages. This being the case, then, I purpose reading to you, merely as specimens of the charters, translations of the first and the last of the instruments upon this roll, merely remarking by the way that the first four of them are in Saxon, written in the English character, and the remainder in Latin.

The first instrument, then, is an account of the number of days of indulgence obtained by Ethelgar, the second bishop of Crediton, who was consecrated in 933-4, for the benefactors of the church of Crediton, and has already been alluded to in the paper upon that town (see p. 91, *ante*). It was probably written some seven years after the date just mentioned, and is couched in the following terms:—

“I, Egger (Ethelgar), make known to all my successors at Crediton minster concerning the indulgence that I obtained after that I forsook St. Mary’s minster for my pride, and went to Rome. And there I fell sick for seven years or more. And there appeared before me the pure queen of heaven, Mary, and bade me go for shrift to the holy Pope Leo [VI], and do whatsoever he should advise me. And he counselled me to sojourn at Rome for one half year (?) [in orig. *similissamnis*], and commanded me to obtain indulgence in honour of my exalted Lady [the Virgin] and for my church. And there I procured from seventeen archbishops 2000 days remission of their sins for all the donors and benefactors of Crediton minster, without intermission

¹ The earliest known document respecting the bishopric of Devonshire is the charter of Athelstane (Cotton MSS., Augustus, ii, 31) granted to *Æ*dalph in 933. It is printed in Pedler’s *Anglo-Saxon Episcopate* and Risdon’s *Devonshire*, and is known as “the charter of enfranchisement of the Bishop of Devonshire.”

every day to come, and for those who furthered the work, and for King Athelstan. And from other bishops to the eastward of the city of Rome, and to the westward of that mountain Mongeus [Mons Jovis] 4007 days; and from other archbishops and bishops on the hither side of the mountains in Wale-lond [the Vaudois], to all of whom I went, or else sent to [them], my shrift was 3007 days; from three Archbishops of Brittany and their suffragans, 1060 days; from four Archbishops of Ireland, and their subordinate bishops, 910 days. And when I came home to the porch of the church, I my sinful self confirmed these 100 days in behalf of the porch evermore, for whomsoever should pray for the miserable Edgar [*i. e.*, for the bishop himself]. And then I consecrated the church enclosure, each and every corner, a hundred days [*i. e.*, a hundred days' indulgence was granted to all who came within the enclosure, and who were of course contributors to the church]. And after that I journeyed to Rome for my sins [*mire lachthere* in orig., *qy. leahtere*] to obtain remission for a hundred days. And he who was the holy Pope Leo at that time [*i. e.*, Leo VII] confirmed that indulgence, and increased the same by 1000 days, and cursed all those that should set it aside, or should offer obstruction to the minster of Crediton. Sum total of days 12,480."

It will be apparent, upon adding up the number of days stated by the bishop to have been obtained by him, in the body of the document, that some error has been committed either by himself or the transcriber of the charter in the rule of simple addition, since the days mentioned in reality amount to only 12,284. However, as the bishop appears by the sum total given at the end to have been the gainer somehow or other of 196 days of indulgence for his sins and those of his people, we will not inquire into the arithmetic of the period too closely, but merely look upon these extra days as amongst the matters which "pereunt et imputantur."

The last document on the roll is a will. It is in Latin, and undated, but it must have been written about 1140. This is apparent from the mention in it of Archdeacon Serlo, who flourished in the time of Henry II, and was transferred from the deanery of Salisbury to be abbot of the monastery at Exeter. It is written on the back of the roll,

and is in point of time anterior to some other charters contained in it; but as these are referred to by Mr. John Tuckett in his paper on Crediton, I shall pass at once to the will, which runs thus:—

"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. I, Bartholomew de St. David, bequeath to the church of the Holy Cross at Crediton [these] little books, viz., Lucan, a Virgil of Alexander, and Juvenal, the book of Tobit, and a theological summary called 'Sententiae,' and a Bible in verse, and the book of 'Hierarchia,' an allegory on the Old and New Testament, a book concerning animals, Isaiah with a gloss, and Matthew and Mark with a gloss. And the church shall receive nothing out of my prebend beyond the aforesaid [books] if I die within the first year; if within the second year, it shall receive the aforesaid and three marks; if within the third year, six marks and the aforesaid; if within the fourth year of my occupying the prebend, [counting] from the date at which I received it, then *i. e.*, the church shall take the whole prebend, unless I shall in the meantime have disposed of it otherwise. To the Archdeacon of Exeter, viz., to Master Serlo, [I bequeath] Jeremiah with a gloss, as a remembrance of me. To my mother [whose name appears to have been Leofleda] a psalter with a gloss, and five silver marks. To my brother Auger a cape, a cloak, a coat, a surcoat, and one silver mark; to my sister one carpet and two linen towels. To the sons of my sister Emma another carpet and two linen towels. To Hugh Britan a book concerning the seven vices, and all the works contained in the same volume. To the priest Warren the book of concordances, beginning 'Vidi bestiam ascendentem de mari,' and the Summary¹ of Master Hugo de Sancto Victore, and the works contained in that volume. To Nicolas, my vicar, the general [in orig. *canonicas*; qy. *catholicas*] epistles and the apocalypse of St. John, and a summary upon Matthew, and the works contained in the same binding. To Henry, his brother, Ovid 'de Tristibus,' an Ovid without a title, Ovid 'de Ponto,' Ovid's 'Fasti.' To their relation, viz., to the son of Roger de Roscharoch, Chanes and Tiodorus, [Theodorus] Avinus [Avienus] and Maximian, Statius and Claudian, and

¹ *I.e.*, the *Summa Sententiarum sive Eruditionis Theologicae Septem Tractatibus Comprehensa.*

three books of Orace. To Master Nicolas de Toteneys [Totness] the Aristotelian books, as many as are bound together, and which are in my little bag. The rest of my books, viz., the book of Genesis and the twelve prophets, and the four books of Solomon and the book of Job and the Proverbs, and Luke and John, and moreover my Bible, are to be sold, and the proceeds to be devoted to the payment of such debts as I owed on the day of my retiring from Exeter, namely two shillings and eight silver pennies in which I was bound to the church of Crediton, in ten marks with the aforesaid conditions to the executors of Bishop Simon, in four hundred (?) shillings to Master Baldwin, in two marks to Master Richard de Cumba, in one mark to my mother, in forty shillings to my brother, in one mark to the Countess Constance, in fifty Parisian shillings. To the abbott of [the monastery of] the Holy Trinity, [to the abbott of the monastery] of the Blessed Saviour one hundred (?) Parisian shillings. The aforesaid books, and other small books and stuffs, [panni] if any shall remain, are to be sold and the proceeds applied to the payment of the aforesaid debts ; and should there be any residue it is to be distributed amongst the poor. And I appoint as executors of this my will Master Nicolas de Tottenays, Hugh Briton, and my lord S[erlo], archdeacon of Exeter."

At the end are the words "in summâ," and a space is left on which in the original the total amount of the bequests was probably summed up. This will is curious as showing the extent and nature of a library at this early period, and indicating to us the value attached to the possession of certain household goods, when we find that carpets, garments and linen towels were left as special legacies to the nearest relatives of the testator.

The next MS. to which I shall take leave to direct your attention is a folio volume of 171 pages, numbered 5827 in the Harleian collection. It is entitled "A Discourse of Devonshire and Cornwall, with Blazon of Armes, etc.; the Bishops of Exeter, the revenews of the Deneries and parsonages and other Gentlemen." Until a very recent period the MS. was imperfect, some of the leaves having been bound up with various miscellaneous heraldic papers in Harl. 6832. Last year, however, the missing leaves were discovered, and it is now complete with the exception

of one leaf relating to the Exeter livery companies ; but as this occurs in the "History of Exeter" by the same author, the deficiency in this case is of little or no importance. It now remains for me to state that the MS. itself, although it was for a long time known only under the title given above, has since been ascertained to be the "Synopsis Chorographicæ, or brief description of the Province of Devon," by the well known writer, John Vowell, *alias* Hoker, gentleman, first chamberlain of, and M.P. for, the city of Exeter in 1561. One other copy of this work is, I believe, in the possession of Sir Lawrence Palk, having come to him from the Portledge collection ; but as that which I am about to describe is the only one which, as far as I can ascertain, is to be met with in any of our public libraries, I hope that the knowledge of its existence may prove interesting to many here present, and especially to the Town Council of this city, who already possess valuable MSS. in the handwriting of this famous author.

With regard then to the work of which we are treating, Prince, writing of his own time, says, "this book was never printed, but goes up and down the country in MS. from hand to hand ; which upon the author's death [1601] was put into Judge Doddridge's hands (who was a learned antiquary) to correct and fit it for the press. And I have seen a copy thereof in the possession of John Eastchurch, of Wood, Gent., wherein that great lawyer [*i.e.*, Sir John Dodderidge] had marked many things which he thought fit to be expunged ; at the end of which is added his letter to Mr. Zach. Pasfield, of Pasvie (whom I take to be a printer or stationer) in which we have a recommendation of the work to the press, a copy of which I shall here subjoin verbatim : 'Mr. Pasvie, though unacquainted, yet I have thought good to advertise you thus much, that the author of this book, being a gentleman learned in the antiquities of this realm, and now deceased, addressed the same unto a person of honourable place in the commonwealth [said in a note to the edition of 1810 to be Sir W. Raleigh], and by the executors of the author delivered unto him ; who in his care of the work committed the perusal thereof to my vacant hours. So I do assure you that it containeth nothing blame-worthy or offensive, but requisite to be published for the use of all such as are delighted in this kind of travel.'

Yours to use, John Dodderidge.' Notwithstanding all which," adds Prince, "for what reason I know not, this book never yet came under the press."

Since the MS., therefore, is considered by so eminent a man as Judge Dodderidge to be so worthy of consideration, I will proceed to a brief analysis of its contents, premising that it has all the appearance of having been the author's original copy, or at any rate to have his own notes and corrections, as an instance of which, we may take an entry on f. 51 b, where he says of himself that, "he wrote sundrie bookeſ," and, after enumerating them, he adds, "and now lastely this Synopsis, and is lyvinge 1599," the 1599 having had a pen passed through it and the date 1600 being substituted at the top.

The contents of the volume are as follows : from f. 2-38 there is a general description of the country with regard to its towns, forests, products, commodities, trade, manners, customs, and grades of the people, and similar matters, written in a quaint manner, of which the following extract may serve as a specimen : the thirde degree is the yeomanry" (the first being the gentlemen, and the second the merchants) "of this countrie, which consisteth of farmers, husbandmen, and freeholders, which be men of a free nature and of good condicions, and do lyve of such growndes and lands as which they do hold freely and for terme of lyffe, of others for a rent, or some of their owne freeholde, being at the least of a cleere valewe of xls. by the yere. Yet they be called *legales homines* because commonly they be returned in all tryalls criminall or civil, and upon their othes be to sette downe the very truthe, as neare as they can, of the matter geven unto theym in chardge ; which being allowed and sentenced by the Judge, all controversies be decided and the lawe hathe his ende. Theise, albeit they be not so well accompted of, nor had in due reputacion as they in tymes past were wont to be, because every man is now of an aspiringe mynde, and not contented with theire own estate, do lyke better of another's, even as the poete saith, '*nemo sua sorte contentus vivit sed laudat diversa sequentes*', yet, after theire porcions, they be not miche inferior unto the gentlemen, who be their lordes : for his fyne being ones [once] payed, he lyveth as merylie as dothe his Lande Lord, and geveth himselfe for the most parte to

suche virtues, condicions, and qualities as dothe the gentleman ; and deliteth in good housekepinge, fareth well, seemly in his apparell, curtiose in his behavior, and frendly to his neigboures ; and when tyme serveth is geven to the lyke exercises of huntinge, shootinge, &c. But accordinge to his callinge his cheffe travells be most in matters of his husbandrie, wherein he lieveth no paynes to make his best profite, whether it be by tyllinge, grasinge, buyenge, and sellinge of cattall or whatsoever he can fynde to be for his gayne and proffite : and by theise meanes he groweth to suche welthe and habilitie that his lande Lorde is many tymes beholdinge unto him. And now of late they have entered into the trade of usurye, buyenge of clothes, and purchasinge, and merchandises, clymmynge [climbing] up daylye to the degrees of a gentleman, and do bringe up theire children accordingly."

With regard to this portion of the book it may be observed that the similarity is so great between it and Westcote's *View of Devonshire*—many passages, indeed, being copied verbatim—that there can be little or no doubt but that Westcote had access to this MS, and made free use of it for his own work.

The second portion of Hoker's *Synopsis* (ff. 38b-52) is occupied with an account of Devonshire worthies beginning with Kebius the son of Solomon, Duke of Damnonia,¹ who died A.D. 370, and ending with Sir William Periam, who became chief baron of the Exchequer in 1593, and whose name is well known to Oxford men, inasmuch as several members of his family have been benefactors to certain colleges in that University, and more especially to Exeter College, where, as Prince informs us, "Sir John Peream, Knt., born in the city of Exeter, built the lodgings which are between the south side of the library and the east side of the New Hall, anno 1618, called by his name unto this day."

We may remark with regard to this division of Hoker's work, that he includes himself (and deservedly so) amongst the celebrities of his county. After stating that his ancestors were "ex patricio ordine," that his parents died when he was about ten years old, that he was brought up by

¹ There has been a good deal of controversy respecting this St. Kebius, or Corinius as he was sometimes called. For his life, etc., see Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, pp. 546-548 (London, 1810).



Doctor Moreman in Cornwall, that he then went to Oxford and afterwards to Cologne to attend law lectures, that thence he proceeded to Strasburg to study divinity, and lastly, after a short stay at home, travelled in France; he adds that he "was mynded to have travelled into Italy and Spayne, and other foreign nations, but by the reason of the warres then proclaymed in France, and he in daunger to have bene taken prysoner, was dryven to shyfte himselfe homewards. And not longe after *he was dryven to take a wyffe*, and then all his desyres and zeale to learnynge and knowledge therewith abated. Notwithstandinge he gave himselfe to the readinge of histories and seekinge of antyquities, and somewhat to armorye:" these, I suppose, being comparatively light studies when contrasted with those which he had pursued before there was a Mrs. John Hoker to interfere with his courtship of, and devotion to, the Muses.

The third portion of the book (ff. 52, b. 76) is occupied with description of the city of Exeter, the names of, and the coats of arms borne by, its principal inhabitants, and list of its livery companies and bishops, with short biographical notices of each. The fourth division contains an ecclesiastical survey (ff. 77—91, b.) of "the dignyties and vales," to use the words of the author, "of every spiritual lyvinge in the countie of Devon, which is divided first to the cathedrall churche of Exon, and then in the three archdeaconries of Excester, Totnes, and Barnstable, and other of the Deaneryes in every archdeaconrye, and of every spiritual lyvinge in the same, who be the patrones of everye benefice, what is the first frutes and the tenthes due to the queene for the same, and also what be the subsydies; which, in one worde, is as is the tenth savinge the tenth to be abated of the xth." At f. 91, b. begins the temporal survey, in which we are told "of what the payment of the tenthes and fyfteenes do growe out of [in] every hundred, which be in nombre about twentye fower." This is preceded, however, by a description of Dartmoor, "which," as we are informed, "lyeth in the mydle of the sheere, [shire] and is of noe hundred nor of any parishe," with "the charter of Henry III for disforestinge of Devon," and "the charter of the perambulation for lymittinge the bandes [boundaries] of Dartmore." Short accounts of the principal towns, and of the nature of their trades and employments are interspersed

throughout this portion of the volume, which are followed at f. 140, b. by an alphabet of arms similar to that which is appended to Sir William Pole's collection. At f. 162, b. is a list of "sundry parkes apperteyninge to the noble men and gentlemen of this sheere which some of theym be dysparked." At f. 166 are "the names of all the monasterys, abbeyes and religiouse houses which have benne in this province of Devon, by whom they were buylded and of what revenewes they were of and of the suppression of theym"; and the volume concludes with an account of "the castles and fortes which are in this sheere."

Thus, then, I have endeavoured as briefly as possible to analyse the contents of this MS.; and if I have been somewhat prolix, I must claim your indulgence on the ground that this is the only entire production of Master John Hoker, *alias* Vowell, that has never yet appeared in print, although there are portions of his writings in volumes belonging to the corporation of this city that have not yet seen the light. It is also the earliest known collection towards a history of the county; it being admitted, I believe, on all hands that the works of Risdon, Westcote, and Pole can none of them date earlier than the year 1630.

The next two MSS. I shall notice as succinctly as possible. The first is in a folio volume in the Harleian collection, numbered 2129. It occurs at f. 222 of that volume, and is entitled "Sir George Carewe's scroule of cotes colected from churches of Devonshire, cotes, etc." It was prepared for Sir George Carew (afterwards Earl of Totness), and is in the handwriting of Thomas Challoner, Ulster King of Arms, who died in 1598. It is headed—"And thus began Sir George Carewe's scrawl[e] año 1588," and contains 718 coats, arranged after the manner of an ordinary, the coats being blazoned, and some few of them in trick.

I will, *en passant*, call your attention to one entry in this volume, which may particularly interest some in this apple-growing and cider-consuming region, and is generally curious from the fact of its being the first reference to orchards in the county which has yet been met with; for John Hoker's "Synopsis," in which mention is also made of them, was written twelve years after the date of this MS. On f. 249 the coat of the Damarells is thus blazoned: "Party per fesse blue and gules 3 crescents 2 and 1. Galf[redus]

de Albemara, Damarell. This coate standeth in St. Peter's in Exon. I fynde that H[enry] I gave the manner of Woodberry unto this man; also Flete Damarell, Milton Damarell, and Sydnam Damarell weare his. *Mr. Holland hath an aple in his orchard called a damarell.*"

The last MS. to which I shall call your attention is another in the Harleian Collection, numbered 5871. This is a folio volume containing pedigrees and descents of families in Devonshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire, taken at the heralds' visitation between 1565 and 1574. At f. 45 is an armorial which, although it has been used by Mr. Sims in his valuable work entitled the "Index to the Pedigrees and Arms contained in the Heralds' Visitations and other Genealogical MSS. in the British Museum," is nevertheless worthy of a special notice in this place, inasmuch as it is, I believe, the earliest heraldic MS. relating to this county, unless, indeed, a roll which is in the possession of our honourable and respected president should prove to be partly of an earlier date.

It consists of fifty-seven pages, some of which are unfinished; but on each of them which is finished are twenty coats, the number of coats blazoned being altogether about 1070. Theshields are rather roughly sketched, but the principal value of the armorial consists in the notes which are appended to each coat specifying other families entitled to quarter the arms: thus Boys, which is arg. a chev. gu. betw. three slips of oak ppr., is noticed as "quartered by Marwood and Pawlet [Earl of Winchester.] In Mr. Polle's book, Wm. de Bosco," the Mr. Pole here mentioned being in all probability the father of the antiquary, who at the period at which this armorial was written could only have been nineteen years of age. It merely remains for me to add that at the beginning is the heading, "In this booke is conteyned a collection of armes of the gentlemen of Devonshire 5^o Jan^y 1579. Joseph Holland 1579, 21 El. R." this Joseph Holland being in all probability the third son of William Holland of Weare, by Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Halse of Kevedon.

And now, I will trespass no longer upon the time and patience of the meeting. Enough has been said, I trust, to indicate the nature of the MSS. which I have brought under its notice; and I will therefore conclude by once more expressing a hope that if any amongst us may be acquainted

with or possess manuscripts as little known and used as these have been, they will not hesitate to bring them forward; for the publication of such documents, as our worthy president in his opening address remarked, is essential towards the accomplishment of that object which should be the pride of every true Devonian, viz., the obtaining of an accurate and trustworthy account, from the earliest ages down to the present time, of the history and antiquities of a county so renowned as this is, no less for its natural beauties, than for those bright ornaments of our country who have both in the arts of peace and war earned for themselves the right of having their names inscribed upon the glorious roll of the Devonshire worthies.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF DOMESTIC MANNERS IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD I.¹

BY THE REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.

EXPENSE ROLL OF JOANNA DE VALENTIA, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE, 23-24 EDW. I.

THE next illustrations of domestic expenditure during this reign, to which attention shall be invited, are the accounts of Joanna de Valentia, Countess of Pembroke. She was the daughter and heiress of Warine de Munchensy, one of the richest and most powerful barons of the time; and by her union with William de Valence, the wealth of her husband's noble earldom became greatly increased. William de Valence died in 1296, according to the inscription on his fine monument in Westminster Abbey,—

“Milleque trecentis cum quatuor inde retentis
In Maii mense, hanc mors propria ferit ense.”

These accounts commence a few months before his decease. They are written closely, and in a minute hand, upon a roll consisting of twenty-two membranes, each a little more than two feet in length, which makes it nearly fifty feet long.

¹ In continuation from pp. 66-72 *ante*.

The expenses of eighteen days are usually entered on a membrane. The first membrane commences as follows; and I give the charge of an entire day in an extended form, to shew the general arrangement of the entries. They occur in the same systematic order day by day throughout the whole roll. Thus ensue in undeviating succession the number of poor who received alms, then the cost incurred in the "pannetaria," "botellaria," "coquina," "marascalcia," "equi," "vadia garcionum," etc.; whilst the payments of a more unusual character are commonly written at the close of the paragraph. To illustrate this more clearly, I give a specimen at length of the entry for Thursday, the first day. This will sufficiently shew the character of this long and interesting record. All the others are of the same character.

"Hic incipit Rotulus Ospitii Dominæ anno regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo tertio intrante quarto.

"Die Jovis in festo Sancti Michaelis anno supradicto recessit Domina de Totenham et jacuit apud Herteford,—Pauperes vij. Panetria, ijs. vjd. de emptione. Item in gentaculo dominæ apud Cestrehunte, ijs. xjd. solvitur.

"Botellaria, vinum, j. Cestarium de Stauro. Cervisia, ijs. xd. de emptione.

"Herteford.—Coquina. In grossa carne, videlicet j quarterio bovis, dimidio porci, ijs. vjd. Aucæ, viijd. Aloues ij.d. Greg. oynuns et potagium, ij.d. Sal, ij.d. ob. Salsa, jd. Summa, iiijs. viijd. ob.

"Hostiarium, xxd. in litera empta.

"Marescalcia. Equi xxxv. Fenum de stauro avenæ, ijs. ij.d.; ij quarteria, iij buscelli, vs. ij.d. Gagia xvij garcionum, ijs. In litera ad opus equorum, xd. Marescalcia, vijs. Summa diei, xxiijs. viijd. ob. Gagia, ij.d.

"In oblatis, ij.d. Item in iij carectariorum allocatione apportantium hernesium Dominæ de Tottenham versus Herteford, iijs. jd. solvitur. Gagia, iijs. iijd.

"Summa totalis, xxvjs. xjd. ob."

The charges of the second day amount to 33s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; third day, 21s. 8d.; fourth day, 26s. 2d. The first membrane contains the expenses of eighteen weeks, amounting to £31 : 4 : 2.

This may be sufficient to state respecting the sum expended by Joanna de Valence during the period to which her household account relates. There are, however, several articles set down which will be worth while noticing separately.

They shew what articles were considered as essential to domestic use in a noble family at this time, as well as their pecuniary value. Yet before examining them, it may be desirable to state of what number her household consisted, and how their services were used. We learn this from the dorso of the roll, where it gives the expense of shoes for her retainers. Charges of this nature were commonly defrayed by the employer, as not only appears from the present record, but from others of a like kind.

The Countess of Pembroke's suite consisted of sixteen persons, independently of the grooms and casual helpers in the stable. The chaplain, or clerk of the chapel, heads the list. After him come Humphrey the chamberlain; Lucia, mistress of the countess's wardrobe; the laundress; Jaket, the maid of the Lady Beatrix; John de Bendegada; Hugh of the pantry; Walter the farmer; John the baker; Druet, my lady's messenger; Isaac the cook; John, my lady's groom; Hoc and Dany, her coachmen; John, the groom of Lady Beatrix; and Adam the carter. Besides these domestics, the names of two females of some historical interest occur on the roll. The first, the Lady Beatrix, her eldest son's first wife. She was the daughter of Ralph de Neal, Constable of France. The second, the Lady Isabella, her second daughter, who married John de Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, in whom the earldom of Pembroke was restored in 1339, after its second extinction in Aylmer de Valence. There is, moreover, mention made of the noble Adomar de Valentia himself. The notices respecting these three illustrious personages will shortly occupy attention.

It is true that we have no historical event recorded in these accounts, but there is much to be gathered from them that is subsidiary to history: facts, indeed, which history usually fails to teach us; because, whilst this is engaged in narrating the great events of the time, the details of the daily habits of society are left untouched. The former may excite our surprise and arrest the attention. They may supply great facts for the philosopher and the philanthropist for their speculation, but they are deficient in those features which portray a faithful delineation of human character; nor do they describe the habits of those who acted their part in private life. Under the influence of these ideas it

¹ Dugdale, *Burton.*, i, p. 778.



will scarcely be necessary to apologize for referring to those particulars which, after looking through the whole roll, I have considered as most deserving of notice.

Amongst the weekly entries upon the household accounts of the Countess of Pembroke, those of payments for fish perpetually recur. Thus we find charges for mackerel, conger, plais, raie, turbot, doreye, marlang, allec, mulvel, stockfiz, lus, troistes, pisces aquæ dulcis, smelt, salmon, capri marini, haddock, sperling, gornard, solays, soles, flunders, perches, and lampronis. There is a daily repetition of charges for what is actually necessary to sustain life, but not much besides. At this period society of the highest grade was less habituated to luxurious living than the middle ranks of life are in our own day. Both the nature of the food, and the coarse way it was cooked, clearly shew that abundance was more thought of than culinary art. The nobility in the reign of Edward I. were content to drink ale instead of wine. They seem also to have lived, if not more abstemiously than we do, certainly with more regularity. They had no great variety of dishes, and we never hear of the use of spirituous liquors. It is simply ale or wine¹ that they drank; beef, mutton, poultry, or fish, that they fed upon, with a plentiful supply of eggs and potage. Other coeval accounts correspond in these respects with this of Joanna de Valentia.

I will now proceed to extract a few miscellaneous items; in the first place taken from the expenses incurred when the countess lay at St. Radegonde:

“In pane, 19d.; in cerevisia, 6d.; coquina, 8d.; in feno pro 27 equis, 3s. 8½d.; unum quarterium 5 bushelli et dimidium avenæ, 5s. ½d.; in bosco pro duobus diebus, 2s. 4½d.; in candela, 15d.; in vadiis 6 garconum, 9d.—Summa, 16s. 2½d.”

“Expensæ dominæ apud St. Radegund.—In cerevisia, 5d.; in ovis et lacte, 3½d.; in portagio, 1½d.; in focagio, 2s. 6d.; in 10 bushellis avenæ ad viginti equos, 3s. 9d.; in offrandis die Jovis, 3d.; die Veneris, 2d.; in gagniis 9 garcionum, 13½d.; in sinapio, 1d.; in ovis, ob.—Summa, 8s. 10½d.”

Mention has already been made of the Lady Beatrice, and

¹ Mention is made of wine in an entry that records a visit from the Countess of Gloucester, thus: “ii cestarii de stauro propter adventum Comitissæ Gловерніæ; item i lagena de dono domini.”

this will prepare us for those entries in which her expenses occur. Amongst these are the following :

“ In duobus paribus sotularum emptis ad opus Beatricis de Valentia, 12*d.*; in expensis duobus cressettis per ebdomadam pro camera dominæ et Beatricis, 4*d.*; item in expensis *iiii* falconum Adamari per ebdomadam, *xiiid.*; item in expensis *ii* ancipitrum dominæ et domini per ebdomadam, *xiiid.*; item in duobus paribus caligarum emptis ad opus Beatricis, 14*d.*; in botonis emptis ad tunicam Beatricis, 1*d.*; in quartone unguenti pro predicta, 3*d.*”

Concerning the Lady Isabella we have this notice :

“ Cuidam garcioni apportanti literas de domina Isabella de Hastings de dono dominæ, 6*d.*”

It also appears that she was at Hertfordbi with her husband, Adomar de Valence, for twenty-six days. During this visit, the current expenses of the housekeeping of Joanna de Valentia were commonly double. They were both, but more especially Adamar, constantly visiting the countess.

I now come to Adomar de Valence. It would be superfluous to say much about a personage so noble, and in such high repute ; so well known as taking a prominent part in the events of his time. Therefore I shall merely give those few facts that may be gathered directly or inferentially from the accounts so accurately kept by the comptroller of the Countess's household. Besides his longer visit at Hertfordbi, already mentioned, he was with his mother at St. Radegond for two days ; and on more than these occasions he paid her a visit. Once we hear of the charge of a messenger taking him letters to London. On one occasion we hear of his own departure thither “ post prandium.” On another, of his staying at Hertfordingbi for nine days. His return to Hertfordingbi and his departure is frequently mentioned. Finally, when his mother lay at Bampton, his departure for Scotland is thus noticed, “ Recessit Adamar versus Scotiam.” No doubt he went thither under military summons, against the Scotch, though this does not appear on the printed writs. It need scarcely be said that he was one of those who attended King Edward I, when he died at Burgh on the Sands.

There would be considerable trouble, and this would scarcely be compensated by the information that would be

obtained, in endeavouring to fix the precise day of the month on which the various expenses of the household arose. They are entered on the days of the week, and occasionally the saint's day is given, so the actual time of expenditure may be ascertained. I have not, however, considered it necessary to give the items with this particularity, as their nature is of the higher importance. In a roll that is little short of fifty feet in length, the lines, too, very closely together, written in a minute and, occasionally, faded hand, it would involve a great amount of labour; therefore, as the facts are only curious in themselves, the precise day on which they are narrated is of small importance.

It will, for instance, signify very little to know on which day of the month the Countess of Pembroke left one place for another. The names alone, therefore, of those she visited, with the order in which they are given will be all the information that is requisite. She was at Totenham when the accounts open. From hence she travelled to Cestrehunte (Cheshunt) in a "longa quadriga," a light four-horse carriage, which is familiar to us by numerous representations in illuminated manuscripts. From Cestrehunt she went on to Hertford; hence to Bampton, and onwards to Braiburn. Whilst here, on Friday, the vigil of Dunstan, archbishop and confessor, that is, on May the 19th, occurs this singular entry: "Recessit recessit corpus domini de Braiburn versus Londinum ubi deberet sepellire domina apud Braburn!"¹ This passage involves some difficulty in its explanation. It is doubtful whether my own will be satisfactory, and, therefore, I can only throw out a few remarks which may serve to assist those who feel sufficient interest in this question to free it from obscurity. The repetition of the word recessit must be considered a clerical error. Viewing it as such, the entry will mean, "the body of the Lord of Braiburn departed towards London, where it ought to be buried, the lady remaining at Braiburn."

Now the Lord of Braiburn was no other than William de Valence, husband of Joanna Countess of Pembroke. He is certified, in the hundred rolls, as holding the possession in the second year of Edward I. She was returned as

¹ The inscription already quoted says that he died in this month. The monument is engraved in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*.

holding the manor at the time of her death. Dugdale says that he, de Valence, departed this life on the ides of June, that is, on the 13th of the month, having been slain by the French at Bayonne, and that he was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, within the Abbey Church at Westminster, upon the calends. Now the calends of June falling on the 1st, and the ides on the 13th of this latter month, his statement is clearly erroneous in one or both of the dates. On looking into Matthew of Westminster, the difficulty is, in some measure, lessened, though by no means removed. He states that on the ides of June, the Lord William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who was son of Hugh le Brun, by his wife Isabella, formerly Queen of England, and relict of King John, died and was buried at Westminster.

This statement can only be taken as applying to his burial, for we have his death alluded to as having taken place on the vigil of Dunstan, which was a day about which there would be comparatively a small chance of error. Looking again at the entry on the expense roll, and the passage of the monkish historian, the only way in which they can be reconciled, is by supposing the one relates to his death, and the other to his burial.

This may be a sufficient attempt to reconcile the statement of the monkish historian with the more credible entry on the expense roll of the precise period. For there can be no doubt that this part of this trustworthy document relates to the journey of the Countess from Hertfordshire, to meet the dead body of her husband on its arrival at Dover. It may be also inferred from an entry on the dorse, which states as much in these words, “expensæ dominæ ante mortem domini non solutæ £169 : 3 : 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. Thus we have the cause of her journey to St. Radegonde, or Bradsole Abbey, a foundation of Premonstratensian Canons, where the Countess and Adamar lay for two entire days. From St. Radegonde, the body of William de Valence was taken to Braiburn; moved from thence on a Friday towards London. On Monday she left Braiburn for Charing; from Charing she went to Sutton Valence. On the feast of St. Germanus, Adamar left her for London, no doubt to attend his father's funeral. The Countess continued at Sutton Valence for a short time; from hence she went to Berling, to Horncherehe, to Cestrehunt, and so on to her castle at Hertingfordby,

where she remained twenty-six days. It was during this mournful sojourn, that Isabella de Hastings and her son Adamar remained with her the whole time. The loss they had so recently sustained will at once explain the immediate cause of, and the length of, the visit. As usually occurs, during his visit to his mother, the daily expenses are nearly double. After their departure, she left for Edelmeton ; again returned to Hertfordingby, where she stayed nine days. Here she again received a visit from her son, during the period of her sojourn, as we learn from this entry : " *Hac die recessit Adamar de Hertefordingebei versus London.*"

On the feast of St. Cyriac (Aug. 8th) she left Hertingefordbi and lay at Treinge : then at St. Alban's where she lunched ; then at Cherdisk for two days, where Adamar again returns to her. We find her next at Woodeton, then at Bampton. Here, on the feast of the Assumption (Aug. 15th) Adamar, accompanied by his constant companion, John de Inkepenne, who was perhaps his secretary, and by Thomas Lord Berkely, who is mentioned as the Earl's executor, again visited his mother. About the feast of St. James the Apostle (Oct. 23rd), he takes a filial leave of her and departs for Scotland : " *Recessit Adamar versus Scotiam.*" After his departure, the Countess of Pembroke passed to Stowe, and thence to Inceburgh, where she continued a long time.

ON A SHRINE

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE wish to procure and preserve some memento of the departed is inherent in our nature. The heathen temples, like churches of a more recent date, displayed portions of the body and effects of the renowned dead, luring to their portals crowds of eager spectators. Thus Pliny (xxviii, 4) tells us that the deformed scapulae of Pelops were shewn at Elis; and Pausanias relates that he saw the brazen knife of Memnon at Nicomedia, and the brazen-bladed spear of Achilles in the Temple of Minerva at Phaselis. The pagan looked with little else than wonder on such antique reliques; but with far different feelings did the early Christian gather up the mangled body of the martyr, seek out the simple raiment and possessions, and bear them with pious reverence for safety to the church. The veneration paid to holy reliques led to a desire to enrich the cases wherein they were deposited. The receptacles, at first plain and unostentatious, grew by degrees to be amongst the costliest garniture of religious worship,—paint and carving, gold and jewel, chasing and enamel, being lavished on them; and the skill of the most expert craftsman invoked in their production.

The shrines or reliquaries varied much in form, size, and material; in confirmation of which we may briefly refer to the few examples which have appeared in the pages of our *Journal*. Taking them in chronological order, the first to notice is certainly not later than the eleventh century, and may be as early as the ninth century.¹ It is a disc, two inches and three-quarters diameter, of wood overlaid with plates of silver, set with crystals, and graven with legends, by which we learn that it once contained the reliques of sixteen saints, that it received repairs in the years 1247 and 1558; and that at the first named date it bore the title of *rota*, on account of its wheel-shape; and at the latter, *osculum*, from its employment in the administration of the “kiss of peace” in the ceremony of the Mass.

A cruciformed reliquary of the twelfth century, of morse ivory, beautifully perforated with florid scroll-work, kneeling

¹ See *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 16 et seq., by Mr. J. G. Waller.

² It has been described and figured in vol. x, p. 185, and plate 22.

figure with bow and arrow, the holy lamb, evangelistic symbols, etc., is in the possession of N. Gould, Esq., F.S.A., V.P.²

The *feretrum*, or feretory, made by order of Geoffrey de Gorham, sixteenth abbot of St. Albans (1119-1146), for the remains of the protomartyr of that name, has been described by the Rev. Dr. Nicholson. It seems to be a chest with an arcade at the side, sloping roof with crested edge, and a volute at either end.¹

A reliquary of the twelfth or thirteenth century, made of latten, once decorated with enamel and crystal, and representing the sleeve of a sacerdotal vest, is in the possession of our associate, Mr. Sim.² This doubtlessly held a portion of the hand or arm of some holy prelate.

A gorgeous *feretrum*, of the close of the fourteenth century, representing a rich Gothic building with arcades of statues, and crested roof surmounted by a spire, is given in our *Journal*, in the notice of Mr. Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*;³ and a coffer-shaped *feretrum*, referrible to the same century, of latten graven with devices, and three lines of inscription, has also received attention.⁴

To the shrines here enumerated we can now, by the kindness of the Lord Bishop of Ely, add another of altogether different design. It is a *tabernacle* of gilt brass, measuring six inches and three-quarters in height, and three and a half wide at the base. (Plate 10, fig. 1.) The crocketed pinnacle is surmounted by a cruciformed finial perforated with quatrefoils and set with a pyrope. On either side is a slender pilaster with projecting bracket, on which stands a mitred bishop with clasped hands: on the dexter capital is placed the eagle of St. John, and on the sinister the lion of St. Mark. On these pilasters are hinged folding doors of richly perforated work, decorated with black enamel, set with turquoise and pyropes, and having doves, cherubim, and a figure of Faith with cross and anchor in relief. These doors are secured by a turn-buckle, and when thrown open expose a recess adorned with chasing, scrolls in relief, black enamel, and gems, having lateral pointed niches with angels in the act of adoration; and at the back is inserted an oval medallion of St. George and the dragon in bold and well executed repoussé. (Fig. 2.)

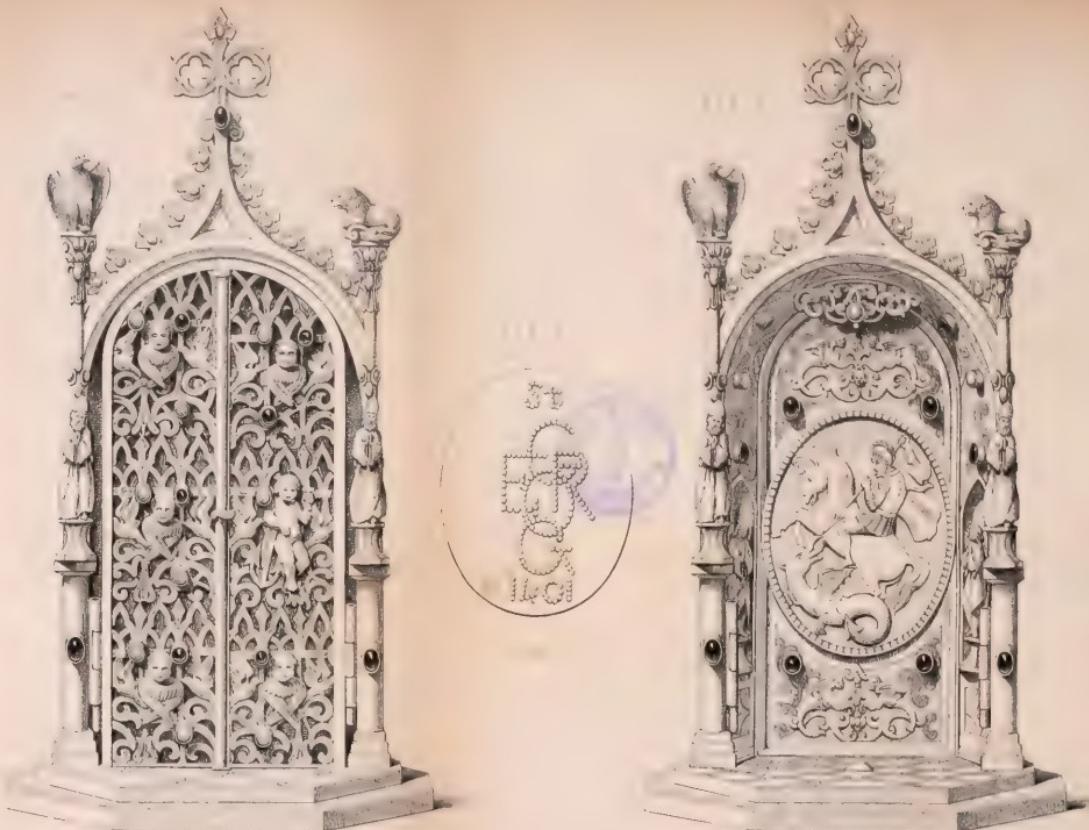
¹ It is represented in our *Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 168.

² See *Journal*, xvii, 208, and plate 19.

³ Vol. i, p. 171.

⁴ See *Journal*, vol. xiii, pp. 230-233, and plate 34. For other reliquaries see *Journal*, iv, 295; x, 89, 113; xii, 265; xv, 250; xvii, 324.





SHRINE IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY

The knight of Cappadocia is equipped in a cap-à-pie suit of armour with plume and mantle, and thrusts his lance at the monster's mouth, whilst his horse tramples the body with its hind hoofs. A medallion of like form and size projects from behind the tabernacle, and is punched in relief with the words, ST. GEORGE, 1401; the letters composing the martyr's name being curiously grouped together, and hung, as it were, one on the other. (Fig. 3.) The date, 1401, may possibly indicate the period of the fabric of the tabernacle; but the medallion is certainly not older than the second half of the sixteenth century. It does, in all probability, supply the place of an earlier receptacle; and whatever that may have contained, we cannot doubt that the present case was destined to receive, and may perhaps still hold, some relic of St. George. So highly venerated was this champion of our faith that his relics were anxiously craved for and boastfully displayed in many places. Butler relates that some of his relics were deposited in the church of St. Vincent, Paris, on its consecration. "Item de Sancto Georgio" occurs in the inventory of the treasures of St. Bertin, at St. Omer, made in 1465;¹ and if we cannot make up his whole body from its dispersed members, we are told, forsooth, where certain parts were preserved. Twiss, in his *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, states that three of the martyr's fingers were to be seen in the cathedral of Valentia. One of his arms, encased in silver, was shewn at Canterbury;² and one of his nether limbs is mentioned in the will of King Henry VII, among other bequests to the altar to be constructed within the grate of his tomb at Westminster,—"the preciouse relique of oon of the leggs of Saint George, set in silver parcell gilte, which came to the hands of our broder and cousyn, Lewys of Fraunce, the tyme that he wonn and recovered the citie of Millein, and given and sent to us by our cousyne the Cardenel of Amboys, legate of Fraunce." In Caxton's *Legenda Aurea* we read of the order of the Garter and its "noble college in the Castel of Wyndsore"; "in whyche college is the harte of Saynte George, which Sygysmunde, the emperor of Almayne, brought and gave for a great and precious relique to K. Harry the Fifthe; and also here is a *heyre of hys hede*."

It is vain to speculate what kind of relic was, and perhaps

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1842, p. 493. ² See Appendix, Dart's *Hist. Cant. Cathedral.*

still may be, within the receptacle before us, upon which we must now offer a few more words. This elegant tabernacle appears to be of German manufacture with a strong Italian bias; and the medallion manifests all the force and vigour of an Augsburg artist, who may have felt a special interest in the subject, as St. George was the patron of Bavaria, as well as one of the tutelar saints of Germany.

This sacred object, like some of the *feretra* already noticed, was evidently intended to stand upon an altar; and it may not be deemed irrelative to the subject in hand to refer to a reliquary of St. George designed to be worn on the person, and which was actually found suspended by a silver chain round the neck of a skeleton exhumed in the church-yard of St. Dunstan's, Fleet-street, in 1831.¹ It is of silver, rather less than half an inch in thickness, somewhat star-shaped, embossed on one side with a figure of St. Helena holding a cross and book; and on the opposite with the equestrian nimbed effigy of St. George spearing the prostrate dragon. There is much in the aspect of this interesting reliquary which points to a Greek origin, more especially the costume of the martyr, which resembles that found in Byzantine paintings of the thirteenth century. The case, however, cannot be earlier than the fifteenth, or, at most, the end of the fourteenth century.

There is nothing surprising in the fact of figures of St. George being introduced on foreign productions, for in the middle ages he was the most famous and popular of "the seven champions of Christendom," his guardianship extending over many states and cities.² He seems to have been adopted as the tutelar saint of England from an early period, although it was not until the Synod of Oxford, in 1222, that a day was set apart for his festival; from which time his legend became eminently conspicuous in our churches, of which one hundred and sixty-two are dedicated to his sole honour, and four more to him in company with St. Edmund, St. Laurence, and St. Mary. But before his festival was appointed to be kept, his effigies decorated the tympanum of Norman doorways, of which examples exist at Ruerdean in Gloucestershire, and Brinsop in Hereford.

¹ See *Gent. Mag.*, May, 1843, p. 490.

² St. George is patron of Ferrara, Genoa, Luttich, Mansfeld, Mantua, Nimeguen, Piedmont, Portugal, Sicily, Ulm, Vigevano, etc. See Dr. Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 96.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21.

By special train a numerous body of the Association and visitors departed on an excursion to Ford Abbey, Ottery St. Mary, Cadhay House, and Collumpton. Arriving at the Abbey, they were met and welcomed by G. F. W. Miles, Esq., and family. Mr. Gordon Hills undertook the task of conducting the party over the building and grounds, of which he had prepared a general plan. The particulars and illustrations by Mr. Hills will appear in the First Part of the second volume of the *Collectanea Archaeologica*; it is sufficient, therefore, here to say that they constituted objects of great interest, and were seen to much advantage through the kind courtesy of Mr. Miles, the present possessor of the Abbey; and the lucid description by Mr. Hills, who had devoted considerable attention to the subject. After the examination the party partook of refreshments, and were then gathered together to proceed to Ottery St. Mary. Arriving at the Town Hall, they were heartily welcomed by the Right Hon. Sir John Coleridge, who, with J. Duke Coleridge, Esq., and other members of his family, were unceasing in their attention to the Association.

Prior to viewing the church, the whole company were entertained at an elegant collation which had been most tastefully arranged in the Town Hall, at which Sir John Coleridge presided.

At the conclusion of this repast, the President, SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bart., rose and said that, as they had now had an opportunity of refreshing themselves, it would, perhaps, be desirable that they should lose as little time as possible before visiting the interesting church of which they had had a glimpse on entering the town. But before they went, he was quite sure they would return their best thanks to their right honourable and very kind friend who had given this entertainment. It was little to say of him, that he had given them a luncheon; because he had, in fact, a great share in the gratitude they ought to pay to those who had prepared Ottery Church for their visitation. They would be able now to see the church with much more advantage, and in a much better manner, than they would have done some few years before. Some few years back they would not have found the church in a state which

would have caused a great deal of satisfaction in their minds, it being then an interesting relic of antiquity defaced by *quasi* modern barbarism. He was glad that now they would be able to see what the church was, and what had been done. They would also, he was sure, in thanking those who had put it in a state to be visited, remember Sir John Coleridge, who might be said to have been the originator and the great promoter of that good work. He had had the pleasure of knowing Sir John Coleridge so very well, that he felt quite sure he should be doing him no kindness, but rather inflicting pain upon him, if he brought his name more particularly before them. He would, therefore, ask them at once to drink his health; and then, without wishing him to waste any time in mere toasts of ceremony, beg him to accompany them to the church in which he had so true and affectionate an interest.

SIR JOHN COLERIDGE, in reply, said there was much in his friend's speech to them concerning himself, which shewed how practised he was in all places and upon all occasions; how able he was to embellish the subject he happened to treat upon. And there was one passage of his speech which certainly came very wisely and opportunely,—the hon. baronet hoped that he (Sir J. Coleridge) would waste no time in proposing toasts of mere ceremony. He thought he had better abide by the recommendation, and waste no time now with a lengthened speech. He would, therefore, simply assure them how extremely glad he was to see them there on that occasion. He hoped they had been refreshed, for refreshment was necessary on such occasions. He hoped also that they were prepared to examine the church, which had certainly been somewhat restored from the condition in which it was some years ago.

The company then took their departure for the church, and Mr. Edw. Roberts, F.S.A., undertook the description of the building. He commenced by observing that—

"The printed accounts of this collegiate church, written by F. G. Coleridge, Esq., and J. Hayward, Esq., and published by the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society,¹ are so elaborately written as to leave little or nothing to add, except, it may be, a few remarks on the anomalous nature of the construction and the mouldings, which have produced so much doubt and so many surmises as to their dates.

"From this publication we gather with tolerable certainty that there is no record of a church being in existence in the town until the time of Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter.² It is recorded that Edward the Confessor, in 1060, granted the township to the church of the Virgin Mary at Rouen,³ in whose possession it continued until purchased by Bishop Grandisson in 1335. In the mean time a church had been built by

¹ Transactions, vol. i.

² Ib., p. 4.

³ It has been assumed that there existed a church at that time, but the deed of gift does not so describe it. It is, nevertheless, very probable that there was some place of worship.

Bishop Bronescombe in imitation of Exeter cathedral:¹ the existing towers and the general arrangements bear testimony to the traditional intention to assimilate the two buildings, so far as they could be consistently with the disparities of size and purpose.

"A question has been raised as to whether the idea of transeptal towers originated here or at Exeter. Now, as those at Exeter, and those which were at Winchester, were Norman; and these are not earlier than the latter part of the thirteenth century, and built with an open side towards the nave, there can scarcely be a doubt that these were an intentional imitation of the former. It is said that the towers are exactly half the size of those at Exeter, and that the other parts bear a similar relation to the original. There are, however, material differences in the details, which, where undisturbed, are later than the era to which they have been usually attributed. This has probably arisen from the recorded date of 1260 as that on which Bronescombe dedicated the church. It does not follow that it was entirely erected at that time. Dates in reference to foundations of ecclesiastical buildings must at all times be received with caution when applied to the architecture, because we know that endowments almost invariably preceded construction by a long time, and were not only gradual, but sometimes spread over a great number of years. It seems hardly likely that the church was either entire or complete; for if it had been completed in the form, and vaulted, as we now see it, it could scarcely, before seventy years had expired, have required to be rebuilt by Bishop Grandisson. It is much more likely that he added to it, both in height and extent. We may thus come to the conclusion that the part which was consecrated, if an entire church, was not such as it afterwards became.

"Bishop Grandisson purchased the church in 1335, and munificently endowed it as a collegiate church, and erected the 'cannons howses round about.'² These were on the north side of the church; but not a vestige remains. His statutes bear date October 1339, and he lived for thirty years afterwards; we have, therefore, a limit as to his additions. The church consisted of a nave, choir, and Lady chapel; the first two having aisles, the Dorset aisle being a second aisle on the north side of the nave.³ The chancel aisles terminate in open chantries at the east end, and have bench tables at the sides. All parts of the church are vaulted, but the vaulting of each part differs both in form and detail; and as the ribs of the nave and chancel do not coincide with the construction, it is evidently late in date. The varieties of lines of the vaults, from nearly equilateral

¹ Delapole (*Coll.*, p. 147) states that Grandisson built in imitation of Exeter; but it must have been commenced, with the towers, in an earlier age.

² Delapole, p. 147.

³ There are only a few instances of double aisles in England. There are specimens at Collumpton; Bloxam; St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford; Higham Ferrars; Yelvertoft; and Yarmouth.

to four-centred, lead to the inevitable conclusion that there were considerable differences in the times of erecting them.

"It is almost certain that Bishop Grandisson built the Lady chapel and screen; raised and vaulted all the other parts, except the sacristies (erroneously called chapels); but that he did not extend it westerly, and that therefore the towers and substructures are of Bronescombe's day, and the sacristies of intermediate erection. The reredos was subsequently put up; the Dorset aisle added about 1510 to 1520; and the porches still later. It is not probable, but the arches of the towers *may* have been enlarged by Grandisson when he vaulted the church, especially as he appears to have raised it. The lower part of the aisle walls, so far as they can be examined, covered as they are outside as well as inside with plaster, seem to be of the date of Bronescombe's building. The upper parts have the appearance of being built at a later period; and the buttresses, which in their lower parts are not attached to the walls, and would give the impression of being additions, are in their upper portions incorporated with the walls; and these would be necessary for the support of the vaulting. There is a very obvious alteration in the wall of the south aisle, between the tower and porch, hitherto unnoticed, which shews how great a change can be made without detection. A door and stair-turret have been entirely removed, except the bonding-stones, and a buttress has been substituted. The lower parts of the sacristies are of an earlier date than the chambers over them, which probably took the place of previous roofs. These sacristies, until very recently, have been internally preserved from interference by being used, one for a lumber-room, and the other for an engine-house, and have thus escaped the general renovation which the other parts have undergone within the last century. They have very pure and beautiful mouldings and details of the character *circa* 1300.

"The interior only of the church has been recently restored; the exterior remains intact, and to this we must look for chief information as to the earlier work.

"It will be seen on examination that almost the whole surface is covered with a thin cement; and that on this there are projecting ruled seams of black cement, representing joints in the masonry, quite independent of the masonry itself, and where no joints really exist. The clearing away of these abominations would probably throw more light than anything else on the construction, and is much to be desired. The whole of the parapets, including those to the towers (but excluding the Dorset aisle) are of the present century; as are likewise all, or very nearly all, the other moulded and carved works; and the gargoyles. Those to the south tower were turned round, so that the cut ends are now in the wall, and the newly carved heads outward. One of these has the date of 1826 on it. The gratings under the floor-level are new

inventions; and most of the supposed consecration crosses are new within forty years. The roof-lead has various dates marked on it,—to the spire, 1796; the roof, 1825; and the rain-pipes, 1746. It is, perhaps, needless to add that all the roofs are quite modern. It is probable that most of the main repairs and alterations were made about these times, and that the unsightly clerestory windows were then put in. Almost all the arches have key-stones,—a rarely failing test of modern work. The interior had, in like manner, been treated in a violent and deplorable way; and until the recent more consistent restorations, in which an endeavour has been made to remedy previous evils, the church must, indeed, have been a sad sight. Whether by Cromwell's orders, or those of Elizabeth or Edward VI, is not known, but almost every internal projection had been chopped off, and the previous canopied recesses filled up with plaster. The remnants of mouldings which were recovered from these now reopened cavities,¹ prove the former richness of details as compared with their present poverty. The windows and other parts, which are of less refined character than usual, have nearly all been either scraped down or renewed, and it would be idle to form a judgment from them. In the chancel, in 1849, not one window remained in the clerestory.²

"The first impression made on the mind on entering, is that it is of the eighteenth century. The examination of the arrangements and some of the details, however, soon dispels this notion; but the fact remains, that the workmanship presented to the eye is really of the date of from about 1700 to 1830. Whether Bishop Brongescombe in the first instance, or Bishop Grandisson in the second, originally designed the works which preceded them, and which these were possibly intended to represent, cannot be stated; but this it may be certainly averred, that, if they designed these, to neither of them can belong the credit of the works at Exeter; for the hand which produced the one could not have drawn the other, so dissimilar are they in beauty of detail, notwithstanding the general similarity of outline,—which, however, is merely confined to the plan and exterior. If we come to the opinion that the whole of the exterior and the greater part of the interior have been considerably altered by scraping and repair, it may be necessary to add that there would appear to be this objection urged against it, that the Dorset aisle is not equally damaged, nor the canopied tombs in the nave. This can be, however, explained; for the fact is, that the former was only erected in 1510 or 1520, and, as is evident by its present state, could not have required repair, for both internally and externally it is nearly as perfect as when built. The tombs also—or one at least, although mutilated—were preserved by being hidden by a gallery, which has since been removed.

"It is curious to observe, in some minor matters, how the spirit of

¹ Exeter Arch. Soc. Transactions, vol. i, p. 22.
1862

² Ib.
21

imitation prevailed even at later periods. The clock face is as nearly as may be a counterpart of that at Exeter, with its twenty-four divisions for a single revolution in the twenty-four hours. The clock is a piece of antiquity worthy of examination. It is wound twice a day. Formerly there was a stone choir-screen: this was removed about fifty or sixty years ago; but it was within the last thirty years that the bond-stones in the piers were cut off, and the piers made good.

"The play of outline and simplicity of parts render this church one peculiarly fitted for coloured decoration; for a considerable amount of mouldings unfits the building for colour, which has the effect of destroying the shadows and repose which have so devotional an effect in ancient works. Too much praise cannot be given to those who have commenced the decoration of this structure; and it is to be sincerely hoped that it may eventually be fully carried out. Great credit is also due to those who have had the care of the restorations for preserving the old oak screens and stalls, and in having applied them in the refitting of the church in so excellent and useful a manner.

"Amongst the minor matters it may be mentioned that many of the mediæval paving-tiles are preserved, being laid behind the reredos. It is to be regretted that this is not more frequently done in other places, rather than to allow them to be scattered or lost.

"Near the turret stairs of the north tower is a niche, which has been supposed to have been used for the candle of the bell-ringer. It can, however, have been nothing else than a shrine with its usual perpetual light; and the fact recorded by Mr. Coleridge, of a drain and foundation adjoining, would seem to confirm this view, by shewing that there had been an altar and piscina.

"The bells are now in the south tower, but are said to have been formerly in the north tower; but as both have been prepared for bells, it is not unlikely that both held them. I examined those now hung, and found them all, with their fixings, quite modern.

"The most perfect and beautiful portions of the church are the sacristies. These have not only the purest mouldings, but are in themselves gems of design. In that on the north side some of the mouldings appear to have been altered. There is a piscina and an aumbry in that one. The Dorset aisle is probably as perfect as when built, and though less beautiful to many eyes, it finds, very properly, numerous admirers. The fan-tracery of its roof is an attraction; but the lateness of its construction is shewn in the poorness of the details, mainly observable in the enclosing walls and shafts. The pendants are peculiar to the neighbourhood, and have been evidently designed by the same hand as those at Tiverton and Collumpton; these at Ottery being by far the best, and probably the earliest of the series.

"There are some holes in the vaultings which have had lead pipes

inserted into them. These have been conjectured to be for suspending lamps. They are, however, so irregular in their positions, and are only one in each pocket, with opportunities for the inlet of water, that it may not be unlikely they were for the escape of water. The saturation of some of the new paintings in the groining of the chancel, points at the evil of preventing the escape of accidental wet."

A discussion ensued, in the course of which Mr. J. D. Coleridge remarked that it was a known fact that a church existed there in the days of Edward the Confessor; and when Bishop Grandisson purchased the advowson of the chapter of Rouen, it was stated that he enlarged the church. Although, therefore, there was not much old work to be seen, the general character of the church was very ancient. Mr. Roberts, in referring to the windows over the nave, had assigned them to 1746. Mr. J. D. Coleridge said he had been told, some years ago, by the late clerk, whose memory extended back a hundred years from this time, that these windows were knocked out (the stonework destroyed) about a century ago; so that if Mr. Roberts was right in his judgment, the windows must have been knocked out fifteen years only after they had been put in. Mr. Roberts further accounted for certain holes in the vaulting of the chancel, by suggesting that they were intended to allow the escape of moisture collected between the chancel roof and the upper roof of the church. Mr. Coleridge asked if he could point out any other instance in which holes were made for letting water through the roof into the interior of a church. Mr. Roberts admitted the matter was surrounded with difficulties, but he believed he had given the true origin of the holes. Sir John Coleridge said that, supposing that theory held good in the chancel, where there was nothing between the vaulting and the top roof, how could Mr. Roberts account for similar holes in the vaulting of the aisles, where there was a room (used by the choristers for robing) between the vaulting and the upper roof?¹

Mr. Davis expressed his dissent from some of the propositions put forth by Mr. Coleridge respecting the antiquity of the building. He also observed that it was quite evident that the groining of Ottery St. Mary was designed with a view to a large introduction of colour. The ribs of the groins, instead of, as is usual, being worked into numerous small mouldings, or in the earlier periods being boldly chamfered, were in this case small, with the square angles cut off for the purpose of receiving some surface decoration. In the restoration of Ottery these ribs had very properly been coloured in forcible colours, the spaces between being merely coloured grey. The effect is certainly satisfactory; but the archaeologists were pretty generally of opinion that more colour might be used with advantage, particularly in those plain spaces which would look better powdered over with a rich pattern on a somewhat dark ground.

¹ Vide ante, p. 160, line 24.

Sir John Coleridge said that, at the time of the restoration, much opposition was raised against colouring at all; but he should be willing, if it were thought desirable, to assist in completing it.

From the church the party passed through the grounds of Mr. Coleridge to view a picturesque Tudor mansion called Cadhay House. Inside is a quadrangular court of large dimensions, statues of Henry VIII and his children Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, being placed in niches, one on each side. The walls of the court are, for the most part, built of squared flints,—a kind of masonry known as dice-work. Along the left side of the court, within the house, runs a gallery, in the centre of which is a recess. Mr. Davis stated that in early times it was customary, in country gentlemen's houses, to have a large hall, where convivial or other meetings might be held; gradually these halls were reduced to mere entrance halls, and in lieu of them were made the galleries similar to the one in Cadhay. Captain Collin, the present resident, stated that when he came to Cadhay, many years ago, there existed a spacious hall which extended from the groundfloor to the roof; but he had since transformed it into a kitchen. On the invitation of the captain, the company passed through the kitchen; and, having thanked him for his courteous reception, they returned to Exeter.

A correspondent (G. H. D.) in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,¹ in reference to a general report of the visit to Cadhay House by the Association, has communicated some interesting notes formed upon the examination of ancient deeds, by which its descent through various families can be traced from an early period to the present time. The owner of the property at this day, we learn, is Sir Thos. Hare, Bart., and the tenant Captain Collin. The following extracts will materially assist us in the history of this mansion. The first deed referred to by G. H. D. is without date; but by it "Edward de Cadehey grants to John de Cadeheye a piece of land called Narwecombe, lying between the lands of the Lord of Cadeheye and the land of the said John; also half an acre of land and half a perch lying between the lands of the Lord of Otery St. Mary and the demesne of the Lord of Cadeheye. And because he had not his own proper seal, he procured the seal of John Salvyn to be appended to the writing.—Witnesses: Jord' de Kyntistone, Thomas Cotone, Henry de Esse, William de Wodeford, Richard Engelond, John Salvyn, and others.

"11 Edw. II.—Deed-poll whereby John de Cadeheye grants to Robert his son and his heirs all his lands and a tenement in Cadeheye, with all appurtenances, etc., reserving the services due to the capital lord. For which grant said Robcrt paid forty mares sterling.—Witnesses: John le Poyer, William de Esse, Richard de Kynatstone, William Poyer, John Gome, Geofry Hoseburn de Cadeheye, John Chepe, and others.

"13 Edw. II.—Deed of release from John de Cadhay, son and heir

¹ January 1862, pp. 64-67.

of John de Cadchaye, to Robert de Cadchaye his brother, of all his right in certain lands and tenements in Cadchaye which might descend to him on the death of John his father.—Witnesses: Thomas de Cadchaye, John Poyer, Richard de Kyncistone, John Gonc, Roger de la More, clerk, and others.

“15 Edw. II.—Indenture whereby Robert de Cadchaye grants to Richard his brother all his lands, with their appurtenances, in Cadchaye, and all his pastures, etc., and live stock (*averia*), excepting the new garden which John his father had in exchange of Richard Chepe; also excepting all the land which John his father had in frank-marriage with Joan, daughter of the said Richard Chepe.—Witnesses: John Poyer, Richard de Knyȝtestone, Roger Taunteser, John Gonc, Thomas de la Thorne, and others.

“11 Edw. III.—Indenture of agreement between Walter de Reyner on the one part, and Richard de Cadchaye on the other, whereby it is agreed that said Walter shall lawfully enclose a piece of land called the Gore, lying between the moor of Cadchaye and the garden of the Lord of Cadchaye; and similarly that said Richard shall lawfully enclose a piece of land between the land *de la piete* on the north, and his close on the south.—Witnesses: John le Poyer, John de Kynaistone, John Gonc, Thomas atte Thorne, Thomas le Gome, Geoffry atte Pitte, William de Esse, and others.

“44 Edw. III.—Deed whereby Geoffry Cadchey conveys to *Magister* Robert Powe, Henry Halle, and John Colecumbe, all his estate which he had in all the lands and tenements, rents and services, at Cadchey, and which he had of the grant of Ralph Vianudre in exchange for land at Le Denne.—Witnesses: Thomas Bittelisgate, John Pestor, John atte Thorne, Henry, Roger atte Pitte, and others.

“9 Hen. V.—Conveyance from Beatrix Cadchay, to William Frye of Fynetone, John Dove (or Done), parson of the church there, and Thomas Dorborgh, of all her lands and tenements, with the appurtenances, in Cadchay, within the manor of Otery St. Mary.—Witnesses: Thomas Hurtescote, Henry Whityng, John Laurence, John Forde, John Trende, and others.

“10 Hen. VI.—Conveyance from John Dove, parson of the church of Fynetone, and Thomas Dorborgh, to Beatrix de Cadchay, of the lands and tenements, with the appurtenances, in Cadchay, within the manor of Otery St. Mary; which said lands, etc., they had together with William Frye, deceased, of the gift and feoffment of the said Beatrix; to have and to hold the said premises to Beatrix for her life, and after her decease to remain to John Cadchay, son of the said Beatrix, his heirs and assigns for ever.—Witnesses: John Forde, Thomas Foghill, Robert Chase, Roger Clode, John Catpole, and others.

“18 Hen. VIII.—Indenture between Richard Haydon of Wodebury,

Esq., on the one part, and Elyn Grenefeld, widow, late wife of Robert Grenefeld, son and heir of Hugh Grenefeld and Joan his wife, of the other part: being articles of agreement on the marriage to be had between John Haydon, second son of the said Richard and Joan Grenefeld, daughter and heir of the said Robert Grenefeld and the said Elyn. By which deed said Elyn settled all the lands, etc., which would come to her on the death of Harry Wytynge, her father, one of whose daughters and heirs she was, on the said John and Joan and their heirs; a life interest being reserved to herself. And the said Elyn releases all her right and title in the lands, etc., called Cadehay. For which release the said Richard grants to the said Elyn an annuity of xl. shillings; and furthermore the said Richard grants to the said Elyn an annual rent of five mares, going out of all such lands and tenements as he hath in the county of Devon, according to the tenor of a certain deed made by the said Richard to the said Elyn."

No other deeds, until one of 1660, have been found; but from the monument of John Haydon, in the church of Ottery St. Mary, it is seen that Hugh Grenefeld married the heiress of Cadhay. The estate remained for some years in the possession of the Haydons; and was, in 1736, sold to John Brown, Esq., who disposed of it, in the following year, to William Peere Williams of Gray's Inn, barrister. In 1771 it was in the possession of Sir Booth Williams, Bart., who, by a special act of parliament, sold it to Elizabeth the widow of W. P. Williams, his uncle, second son of W. P. Williams the barrister. Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of W. P. Williams and Elizabeth Seignoret his wife, married Thomas Lord Graves, who possessed it. It eventually came to his daughter, Anne Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., whose son, Sir Thomas, is now in possession.

Before leaving the church, Mr. Planché gave an account of two large and beautiful effigies, which he supposed to represent a nephew of Bishop Grandisson with his wife. The position of the knight was peculiar, his arms being crossed on his body, with his sword, held in his right hand, carried underneath his left arm. There were also traces of a coat of arms, which were at that period very uncommon.

A meeting was held at the public rooms in the evening, the President in the chair, who detailed for the information of those who had been unable to attend the excursion the proceedings which had occupied their attention, paying due compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Miles, Sir John and Mr. J. D. Coleridge and others by whom they had been so liberally welcomed. He then called upon Mr. Pettigrew to read his Account of Roman Penates found at Exeter, the specimens being laid before the meeting. This paper, with a more correct representation of them than has hitherto been given, will appear in the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, vol. ii. Lieutenant-Colonel Harding then read a paper on the Coinage of Exeter (see pp. 97-111, *ante*).

The remainder of the evening was occupied by J. Gidley, Esq., town clerk, who had prepared a very elaborate paper on the Royal Visits to Exeter, embracing also a general history of the city both ancient and modern, of which we are able to give but a brief abstract; Mr. Gidley has, however, printed the entire communication for the satisfaction of those who desire particular information on the subject.

"Exeter is a city of great antiquity, and was undoubtedly a place of consequence long before the Christian era. The notices of the visits of royalty before the Conquest are very scanty, and generally mentioned only incidentally and as a circumstance attending some transaction of importance. Such occurs in the reign of Edward the Confessor, who, *circa* 1049, withdrew the monks from Exeter to Westminster, and made the church of Exeter a cathedral church. He removed the bishop's see, which was then at Crediton, unto this city, making Leofricus bishop thereof, and whom he and his wife, Queen Edith, did put in possession of the same, as appeareth by his letters patents, dated the eighth year of his reign, A.D. 1050, which 'expresslie declare how that King Edward and Queene Edith, his wife, did put Leofricus, the first bishop, in possession, the one by the one hand, and the other by the other hand, leading him between them, up to the high altar, and there put his hands upon the same.'

"In the year 1285, being the fourteenth year of the reign of King Edward I, that monarch and his queen, Eleanor, visited Exeter, and kept their Christmas feast in the bishop's palace. Hoker and Isaac both state that this visit was occasioned by the death of Walter Lechlade, precentor and prebendary of the church, on the 19th November, 1283, who was murdered as he came from matins, then usually said about two of the clock in the morning; upon an inquisition of whose death Alfred Duport, the late major, and the porter of the south gate, were both indicted, arraigned, found guilty, and executed accordingly, for that the south gate was that night left open, by which means the murderer escaped. It is certainly true that Walter Lechlade was murdered as above stated, but it is difficult to understand upon what principle of law or justice the mayor, Alfred de Porta (who had served the office eight times), could be put to death for the neglect of the porter of the south gate; and it is satisfactory to find that he was not so punished, for he served the office of mayor in the following year, 1284, and his name appears as a witness to a deed, dated Sunday after the feast of St. Matthew in 1285, by which Walter de Dodderigge, and Benedicta, his wife, surrendered to the dean and chapter their right of egress and ingress through the doors of their house in the High Street into the cathedral cemetery. It was at first doubted whether Walter Lechlade had really been murdered, all the Church authorities being quite silent on the subject, merely speaking of him as deceased, without any notice

that his death was occasioned by violence; and it is perhaps remarkable that on the day of his death the offices which he held were both filled up, Andrew de Kilkenny being appointed to the precentorship, and James de Hispania to the prebend. The fact, however, of Walter Lechlade's murder has been conclusively proved by the discovery in the Tower of four letters from Bishop Quivil to King Edward I, praying that four priests, namely, John Pycot of Exeter, John de Christenstowe, vicar of Heavitree, Lucas of Saint Leonard, and John de Wolrington, vicar of Ottery St. Mary, who had been convicted before the king's justices of the murder, and subsequently committed to the bishop's prison, might be reinstated in their positions, and have their goods, which had been seized, restored to them, they having canonically purged themselves before the bishop aforesaid. One of these letters is as follows:—‘To the most serene prince his Lord Edward, by the grace of God the illustrious King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, Peter, by the mercy of the same, Bishop of Exeter, health in Him by whom kings reign and princes exercise dominion. Whereas, John, called Pycot of Exeter, priest, arraigned for the murder of Mr. Walter de Lechlade, of happy memory, once precentor of our church of Exeter, and by your justices then committed to our prison, has canonically purged himself before us of the murder aforesaid, by trustworthy and discreet men, according to the liberty of the Church and custom of the realm. We humbly request and beseech your Excellency to order the restitution of his goods and possessions according to the demand of justice, if it be pleasing to you, that as in person, so in goods and possessions, as the liberty of the Church requires, he may be restored to his former state, and honour in all things. May the Most High preserve your Majesty to His Holy Church and the realm for a lengthened period. Given at Exeter, the 8th Kal. of August’ (25th July), ‘in the year of our Lord 1286.’¹

“ It may seem extraordinary to some that after a solemn trial and conviction any priest should be allowed to purge himself of the alleged crime and to regain his liberty and property by an *ex parte* proceeding

¹ “ Serenissimo Principi Domini suo Domino Edwardo Dei gratiâ illustri Regi Angliae, Domino Hiberniae, et Duci Aquitaniæ, Petrus ejusdem miseratione Exoniensis Episcopus salutem in Eo, per quem reges regnant et principes dominantur. Cum Dominus Johannes dictus Pycot de Exoniâ presbyter, de homicidio bona memoria Magistri Walteri de Lechlade, quondam precentoris nostrae Exoniæ ecclesiæ insectatus, et per justiciarios vestros dudum nostro carcere liberatus, de prefato homicidio per viros fide dignos et providos juxta libertatem ecclesiæ et regni consuetudinem, canonice se purgavit coram nobis, vestram Excellentiam humiliter requirimus et rogamus quatenus bona et possessiones ipsius sibi, si complacet, juxta juris exigenciam restitui jubeatis, ut sicut in personâ sicut in rebus et possessionibus, prout ecclesiastica libertas hoc postulat, restituatur statu pristino in omnibus et honori. Vestram majestatem conservet Altissimus ecclesie suæ sanctæ et regno per tempora diuturna. Dat. Exon. viii. kal. Aug. A.D. MCCLXXXVI.”

before the bishop or his deputy and a jury of twelve clerks, the proofs being supplied by the oaths of the prisoner himself, of twelve compurgators who swore they believed he spoke the truth, and of witnesses on the prisoner's behalf only. Such, however, was the established mode of purgation, and such was the benefit of clergy which is supposed to have been grounded on the text, "Touch not mine anointed and do my prophets no harm," Ps. 105. It obtained very early in England, for Bracton, who was a judge, and wrote in the reign of Henry III, has a chapter on the subject; and in the third year of Edward I. a statute was passed confirming and extending the privilege. In the year of King Edward's visit, a parliament was held in this city, at which the statutes of Exeter were passed; they relate to the duties of coroners, and of inquirers to take inquests, how the coroners had borne themselves in the duties of their office: and as our local historians state that the visit of King Edward to Exeter was occasioned by Lechlade's murder, it is not improbable that the statutes relating to the duties of coroners may have been occasioned by that event. Fourteen years after this first visit, King Edward again visited Exeter, but all I have been able to gather of this second visit is that he came into the county of Devon, and visited the house of Plimpton, and took this city in the way of his return home-wards (Isaac, p. 30). Hoker only says, "Md., that the king came this yere to Devon and visited the house of Plympton." The priory of Plympton, of the order of St. Augustine, was founded in 1221 by William Warewast, the nephew and chaplain of William the Conqueror, who had given the church of Plympton to the see of Exeter, many years before his advancement to that bishopric.

"According to Hoker, Edward the Black Prince visited Exeter in 1371. 'The prynce, yn February, being very sicke, came out of France, with the princes, his wyff, and Richard their sonne, who afterwards was kinge, and arryved at Plymmouth and came to this city, and were very honorably received and intertwayned.'

"The city of Exeter was next honoured with a visit from King Henry VI in 1451, the thirtieth year of his reign. Relating to this there occurs the following:—

"Memorandum: That in this year the king made a progresse, and having passed through many shceres he came to this city, upon Mone-day, at the afternoon, beinge then the feaste day of St. Kenelme, and the xvij of Julye, beinge accompanied with a greate trayne of noble gentlemen and others, and yn this manner he was received. At his firste comynge yn to Devon he was received and lodged yn the Abbey of Forde, and there stayed one nighte at the costs of the Abbey; from thence he came to Otrey St. Mary, and there was received with greate solemnytye and lodged yn the Colledge two nightes. Then upone the Moneday aforesayde he came to Exon, and by the way was met first by the most



parte of knights and gentlemen. The mayor and comonaltie of the citie of Exeter, being above three hundred persons, and everye one apparelled yn the lyvery of the citie, met him at Honyton's Clist. The next companye which met him was the clergie, and the first were the Grey Freeres and the Blacke Freers, the one being of St. Franneys order, and the other of St. Domynyks, and these met him at Liverydole. Then came the Prior of St. Nicholas and the Prior of St. John's, and all the curates, preestes, and chapleyn of the citie, beinge ravished and clothed yn theire copes and vestyments, and too crosses before theym, and met him at the Crosse without the South gate. And when they incensed the kinge with their frankinsens and perfumes, and that he had kissed the crosse, the mayor delivered him the keys of the gate and rode yn before the kinge bare hedded, carrienge the mace before hym, and broughte hym throughe the streetes, which were richelye hanged with sylkes and tapestry, unto the Broade Gate, where the bisshop, the canons and quyre, apparelled yn their copes, received him in a procession, where he alighted from his horse and folowed theym on foote yn to the church, and so unto the higheaulter, where, when he had made his prayers and oblations, he was broughte ynto the bishop's palace and there lodged. It happened that the next day after, the kinges justices, by virtue of a commission to theym dyrected from the kinge by the means of the Duke of Somersett, dyd sytt yn the bishop's hall, and before them were too men indicted, arraigned, and condemned for treason, and shold have beene executed to dethe for the same, but the bishop and chapter found themselfes greved herein, and went unto the kinge and declared unto him that his justices had satt yn commission within theire sanctuary contrary to the preveleges of theire sanctuary and orders of the Holy Churche. Wherefor, the king, to appease and to satisfye them, pardoned the too condemned persons. And so upon the then next Wonesday he returned backe and lodged at Honyton. And all his chardges whiles he was yn the citie were borne by the bishop and citie.'

"The next royal visit to Exeter was by Edward IV in 1469, a year referred to by Hoker as 'a verie troublesome yere, and by reason of the civill warres the course of the lawes for a tyme lay as it were asleape, and as the whole realme generallye was full of trobles, so this citie yn particular felte some part thereof more than others, ffor after that Kinge Edward was taken prysoner at Wolney bysydes Warwick, and by means had shifted and delivered himself out of pryson, he gathered a newe armye, and then the Erle of Warwyke and the Duke of Clarens, mistrustyng theyre owne partes, prepared thcym selffes to passe over to Calys, and first sent away before them the Duchiess of Clarens, being then bigge with childe, who, being accompanied with the Lord Fitzwarren, the Lord Dynnchame, and the Baron of Carew, and a thousand of good fightinge men, came to this citie upon the xviiith of March, 1470,

and she was lodged yn the bishop's palace. Sir Hew (rather Sir William) Courtenay, who then favoured Kinge Edwardre his partie, hirying that this company was lodged within the citie, forthwith assemblethe all his frendes, alycs, and kinnesfolk, and with such a power and force as he had gotten, he environethe and besegeth the citie. The bridges leading to the citie were broken up, the passages stopped, and the gates of the citie rampyred, by means whereof there were no markets kept nor victuales broughte to the citie for xij days together. Great were the trobles to the whole citie, but yn greater perplexitie stode the mayor and his bretheren, and beinge as it were assayled manye wayes, could not finde onc waye how to be eased and releaved. First, Sir Hew Courtenay sendethe his messengere to the citie, and doth demande the delyverie of the keyes of the cities gates, and of the noble-men within the same, or ells with sword, fyre, and famyn he will persew against theym. On the other side, the Lord Fitywarren and the residew of the noble and gentle-men mystrustyng the mayer, and especiallye the common people, who were verye impacient and could not abyde to endure the wante and scarsitie of victualls, they required to have the custodie of the citie and the kepinge of the keys. But the mayor, by the good advyse of his brethren and counsellors, denyethe the requestes bothe of the one and of the other; and as for the comoners, albeit hunger have no ears, and a hard matter it is to persuade emptie bellies to paciens, yet the matter was so handled and they so curtuously intreated, that fayre speeches and good wordes prevayled with them untyll that, at lengthe, by the contynuall mediation, entercourse, and intreatie of certain Canons of the Close of St. Peters and other good men, the matter was compounded, the siege was raysed, the gates opened, and everye man at libertie. The next day after, beinge the ij of April, the Duke of Clarens and the Erle of Warwicke, who had here for a few days rested and sojorned whyll shippinge was prepared for theyme at Dartemouthe, which as sone as it was in redynes, they and their wyffes and whole compayne roade to Dartemouthe and there imbarqued theymselffes for Caleys. The kinge in this meane tyme prepareth all thinges in redynes to persewe and followe theym, and came to this citie the xiiijth of April, 1479, with xlM. men, but the byrdes were flowne and gone awaye, but yet beinge come so neere the citie he wold see the same and the countrie adjoininge, wherfore beinge accompanied with all his nobilitye, namely, the Bishop of Elye, then Lord Thresurer, the Duke of Norfolke, then Earl Marshall, the Duke of Suffolk, the Erle of Arundell, the Erle of Wylshire, sonne to the Duke of Buckyngham, the Erle of Worcester, Constable of England, the Erle of Shrewsburye, the Erle Ryvers, the Lord Hastings, the Lorde Graye of Codner, the Lord of Awdeleighe, the Lord Saye, the Lord Sturton, the Lord Dakers, the Lord Montjoye, the Lord Stoneleighe, the Lord Ferrys, and the Baron of Dudleighe, with

the whole army to the citie he came on the Saturday. Before whose comynge the mayor beinge advertysed thereof, toke order and gave commandment that every citizen and freeman beinge of habilitie shold provide and prepare him-selfe a gowne of the cities lyverie, which was then redd, and to be yn redynes for receveinge of the kinge, which accordynglye everye man dyd. And when the kinge was come to the citie, the mayer beinge attended with foure hundred persons well and semely apparellled, received the kinge without the South Gate, unto whom Thomas Dowrishe, then recorder of this citie, made an oration, which beinge ended, the mayer delivered the keyes of the gates and his macyes unto the kinge, and therewith also a purse with a hundred nobles therin, which his grace toke verie thankfully, but the keyes and maces he re-delyvered to the mayer, and then the mayer goinge before the kinge with his mace, barchedded, brought hym to his lodgings. The next day folowinge beinge Palme Sondaye, the king in proper person and most pryncely and royll manner folowed and went yn procession after the manner as was then used about the churchyard, the viewe of the people and the beholders being not so greate but that their joye and conforte was much greater, for suche is the rejoysinge of the people, especially of suche as be farre removed from kinge's courtes, to see and beholde their prynce. The kinge contynewed yn this citie three days, namely, until Tuesday then next followinge, who when he had dyned, toke his horse and departed, geving greate thanks to the mayer for his interteynement, as also shewed himself very lovinge and bountifull to the people.

“Also yn the ende of this yere, yn the monethe of Auguste, the Duke of Clarcenee and the Erle of Warwyke, with all their retynewe, returned from out of Ffraunce, and landed some at Plymouthe, some at Dartemouthe, and some at Exemouthe, but all mett at this citie, and from hens they all departed and marched towardes London, who yn everye place as he passed proclaymed Kinge Henry, wherewith Kinge Edward was so trobled, that he forsoke the realme, toke shippinge, and sailed over ynto Holland to the Duke of Burgoyn.

“In the year 1473 the Duke of Clarence came to this city, and was very honourably received and entertained.

“In November 1483 Hoker records that King Richard made his progress into Devon and came to Exeter, ‘whereof advertisement longe before given, preparation was made for the honourable receiving of hym, but he came upon such a sudden that all thinges coulde not be so provyded to receve hym yn such honorable manner as they wolde and as unto so highe an estate dyd apperteigne, nevertheless they dyd what yn them laye, accordyng to the tyme, and toke order with Thomas Hext, the recorder, to make the speche or oration unto the kinge, and in rewarde gave him a skarlett gowne, and also made a collection amonoge

theym-selffes by way of loan of one hundred marches in money, to be given and presented unto the kinge; and so accordingly when the kinge came, the mayer and his brethren, yn all theire best and most semely arraye, met and received the kinge at the gate of the citie, where the recorder made unto hym hys gratulatorie oration, which doun, the mayor delyvered unto hym the maces wonte to be borne before hym, and the keys of the citie's gates, and therewith presented unto his grace CC nobles yn a purse, which theire services and present he accepted verie thankefullye, and givenge theym very good speches, delyvered back to the mayer the maces and the keyes. From thense he was conducted to the bishop's palace, where he was lodged. The mayer goinge before his grace, and carried the greater mace before hym—He was very bountefullly interteyned yn the bishop's palace, and all things were plentuously prepared for his interteynment, as well yn plate and furnytur of the house, as also for abundance of vyandes and vietualls, sufficient for the kinge and his whole trayne. The kinge, when he sawe all thinges so well apoynted, called for the bishop's officers, and demanded what was become of theire master, sayinge he was a wyly prelate, and had made hym good chere, for which he gave not onely thanckes, but wold also consider hym for his greate courtesays and custages bestowed upon him, and so with many good wordes the kinge dissymbled what was his meanyng, for he knew that he upon the inditement was goun out of the waye. The noble men and the kinge's trayne were all lodged accordinge to theire estates yn the citie, and wanted no provision meate for theym at the chardges of the citie, which the kinge when he herd dyd commende, and gave the mayer and his brethren greate thancks. Duringe the short tyme of his abode here he toke the view of the whole citie, and dyd very well like and commend the scite thereof, and when he was come to the castle and had beheld the seate thereof, and the countrie there about, he was yn a mervelese greate lykinge thererof, bothe for the strengthe of the place, which was to commande bothe citie and countrie about it, as also the goodly and pleasunt aspectes of the same; but when it was told hym that it was called Rugemont, he was sodenly fallen yn to a greate dumpe, and as it were a man amased: at lengthe he sayde, 'I see my dayes be not longe,' for it was a prophecye told unto hym that when he came ones to Richmond he shold not longe live after, which yn effecte fell so oute in the ende, not myche yn respecte that he senne this castle, but yn respecte of Henry Erle of Richmonde, whom, as his brother before hym, he feared wold be the ruyn and fall of hym and of his house, and so it fell out in the ende, for a lytle above a yere folowinge, Henry Erle of Richmond beinge newly aryved out of ffrance yn to Walles, who was then attended with all the gentlemen of Devon, befor indicted, he landed yn Mylford Haven, and then his forces dayly increased more and more, as he dyd marche throughe the countrie, untill

he met with King Richard, with whom he incountred and waged the battell, at a place called Bossworthe, yn which King Richard was slayne."

Passing over various events, including that of the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck, Mr. Gidley referred to a notice of the visit of Henry VII in the following extract:—

"The kinge, duringe his beinge and abidinge yn the citie, was contynually and his counsell busied and occupied aboute the matters of the late rebellions, and when the princypall and cheff ryngleaders and offenders were punyshed and exequuted to dethe, and then of his goodnes myndynge upon sundry humble suetes made unto hym, to extend his mercie to the residue of the rude and penytent commoners, he caused theym all, so many as were within this citie, to be brought before hym yn the churchyard of St. Peters, within this citie, and his grace beinge lodged yn Mr. Awstell his house, then thresurer of the cathedrall church, he came forthe out of his chamber and stode yn a fayre large wyndowe newlye and of purpose builded towardes the sayde churcheyarde, and then and there before hym stode all the foresайд offenders barcheade, with halters abowte theire necks, and cried out unto the kinge and praied for his mercie and pardon. The king, after that he awhile beheld and harde theym, made a shorte speech unto theym, and that ended, yn hope of theire amendment, he pardoned theym all, wherewith the people made a greate showte, hurled away their halters, and cried, 'God save the kinge.' When the kinge had doun all thiese things, and, as he thought, had sett all things in quiet order, yet by reason that it was advertyssed unto hym that sundry notoriouse offenders abroade, and yet not come yn to submytt theymselff, he graunted out certeyn commysions, as well for apprehendinge and punyshyng of theym, as also for good government of the countrie."

"1501. Memorandum: That yn the begynnyng of this mayer's yere, yn the monethe of October, the Lady Katheren, the spouse of Prynce Arthur, arryved at Plymouth, to whom forthwith resorted all the knightes and gentlemen yn these parties, and conducted her into this citie; and was lodged yn the deane's howse, and had such interteignement as dyd apperteyne to so honorable a personage.

"1585: In the month of September, Don Anthonio, named the King of Portingal, being dryven out of his countrie by King Philip, arryved to Plymouth, and upon St. Mychael's daye he came to this citie and was lodged at the mayer's house, where he and all his had theire interteynement, both horse and man, gratis and without any peny chardge.—

1587: In the begynnyng of this yere a greate navy, prepared with all things necessary, under the guiding of Sir John Norys and Sir Frauncis Drake, knightes, passed over yn to Portingall, and had with them Don Anthonio, named Kyng of Portygall, and went to Lysbonne; and albeit

theire companye yn respecte of Kinge Philip's forces were not as it were a handful, yet they durst not to encounter with our men. And yet, by reason of greate sicknes and other accidences, theise capteynes were dryven to returne without that victory which they hoped of; and Don Anthonio came to this citie, and here sojorned for a tyme."

The next royal visit to Exeter was by King Charles I, relative to whom Isaacs, in his *Memorials* (p. 158), says, under the date of 1643, "The king in person coming to this citie (being in pursuit of the Earl of Essex, general of the parliament's forces, and his accomplices, who were marched into Cornewall with an army), lodged here in Bedford House two days; and having defeated his enemies, returned hither again, and was pleased to bestow the dignity of knighthood on the mayor. Prince Charles attended his father in all this march, and lodged here in the dean's house. The queen likewise resorted hither for safety. Bedford House was prepared in readiness for her reception, where, during her abode (*sc.* 16 Junii), her majesty was delivered of a young princess, who was baptized in the cathedral church here by Dr. Burnell, chancellour, and a canon residentiary of the said church, on Sunday, 3 Julii, then next following. In the body of the church a font was erected on purpose, under a rich canopy of state; and Sir John Berkley, then governor of the said citie; the Lady Poulett, and the Lady Dalkeith (the said princess's governess) were her mistresses, and named her Henrietta Maria (being the fourth and youngest daughter of King Charles by Mary the daughter of Henry the Fourth, king of France); and was from hence carried up to St. James's, near Westminster, and afterwards conveyed into France, and married to the Duke of Orleans, the French king's brother. She was esteemed for beauty to be one of the fairest princesses in Christendom."

This city presented the king's majesty with £500, the queen with £200, and Prince Charles with £100 more.

From Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa* it appears that King Charles was in Exeter in 1644.

"In the year 1670, on the 23rd day of July, being Sunday, between seven and eight of the clock in the evening, the king (Charles II) coming down by sea, to view the new citadel at Plymouth, and taking this city in his way homeward by land, lodged here that night in the dean's house within the Close, and was bountifully entertained at the city's sole charge, who presented his majesty with £500 in gold, which he graciously received, and expressed much favour towards the said city, and knighted the mayor. The next morning early, about three of the clock, his majesty went hence, and lodged that night at the Earl of Pembroke's house, Wilton, near Salisbury; and the day following returned safely to Whitehall. The king's short abode in this city hindered the great conduit at Carfax from emptying herself of an hogshead of wine which the



city had provided in readiness for that purpose, and after his majesty's departure made a free disposition thereof for his service.

"In 1671, the king (in order to his promise made the last year when he visited this city in person, and as a signal testimony of his love towards the same) was pleased to send hither the effigies or portraiture at length and richly framed of his dear sister, the Duchess of Orleans (lately deceased), a princess born within this city, and for beauty was esteemed to be one of the fairest in Christendom, which said picture being placed in a fair case of timber richly adorned with gold, is erected in the open Guildhall of the said city, and there to remain as a perpetual monument of his Majesty's high favour towards this his truly ancient, loyal, and honourable city of Exeter."

The next royal visit was by the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III, who landed at Torbay, and from thence proceeded to Exeter.¹

George III, Queen Charlotte, the Princess Royal, and the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth visited Exeter in 1789. Subsequently, H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, the Duchess, and her present most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, have all paid visits to the city of Exeter.

The proceedings for the ensuing day were then announced, and the meeting adjourned.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22.

The arrangements for this day were made by the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, several members of which united with the Association in the inspection of the various objects selected for examination. The members and visitors departed by rail to Newton Abbot, at which place carriages were in readiness to convey the party to Haccombe to view the church, which at this time was undergoing repair. Here a paper, of which the following is an abstract,² was read.

ON HACCOMBE CHURCH AND ITS MONUMENTS.

BY W. R. CRABBE, ESQ.

Devon (he observed) comprehended comparatively few examples of Early English design; the churches are principally of the Decorated and Perpendicular character. Of Haccombe³ he remarked that it was built in the simplest manner of the Early English style, almost, if not wholly, devoid of ornament, its chief characteristics being solidity and strength.

¹ For account by Dr. Burnet, see Harl. MS. 6798, art. 49.

² This paper, *in extenso*, will appear in the *Transactions* of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, with engravings of the brasses, monuments, etc. The reader is also referred to Lysons's *Devonshire* for representations of some of the effigies.

³ For list of the incumbents of Haccombe, the reader is referred to the Rev. Dr. Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*, vol. i, p. 160 et seq.

The church is dedicated to St. Blaize, and measures only fifty-five feet in length, and thirty in breadth. It consists of a chancel, nave, and a north aisle, divided from the former by four massive pillars without bases, having capitals of simple but ingenious device. These support pointed arches with plain soffits. Each of the four bays of the aisle is lighted by a twin lancet window, and under each is a low tomb arch, two of which hold monumental memorials. The eastern end of the aisle is lighted by a triplet lancet window, and underneath it is the tomb of Sir Henry Carew, Bart. The west end is lighted by a similar triplet, containing some very fine fragments of early stained glass, representing the Virgin with a pot of lilies by her side, and an episcopal figure with an Early English crozier head and low mitre. There are two shields, one lozenge shaped, the other oval, each bearing the Haccombe arms—*argent three bends sable*. Above is a figure of an archbishop with the pall and low jewelled mitre, one hand raised in the act of benediction, the other holding a cross rising from a ball. There is also another figure, bearded, and holding some object, now obliterated, and above it apparently a golden bell. The remaining subject is the angel Gabriel appearing to the Virgin, illustrative of the Annunciation.

The roof of the aisle is a lean-to one, from which the plaster has just been removed by the care of Sir Walter Palk Carew, Bart. The chancel is lighted by an eastern lancet window of three lights, and by single lancet windows on the north and south sides. Beneath the latter are the remains of a sedilia, of plain Early English work. The chancel is now separated from the nave by a modern freestone screen of traceried work. The nave is lighted by four lancet windows of one and two lights alternately and a western triplet. Beneath the third and fourth windows is the door, of massive and ancient oak, studded with nails, on which are the remains of two of four horseshoes, once nailed on in the form of a quatrefoil, and probably placed there under the idea of being protective against witchcraft. The door has a very plain porch, surmounted by mounted battlements. At the western end is another doorway, over which is a bell turret with modern battlements. The roof of the church is now undergoing alterations, the old one being replaced by an exact copy of the original, which appears to have been that of an Early English edifice. It is of a massive character, formed of trussed rafters, with curved braces to each pair, without moulding or ornament. The font is octagon, and placed against the first pillar at the western end of the nave, dividing it from the north aisle. The fittings of the church, together with the screen and reredos, were executed by Mr. Kendal, architect to the cathedral church of Exeter, and at the sole cost of the late Sir Henry Carew, Bart.

Mr. Crabbe referred to the episcopate of Bishop Grandison (July 19,
1862) 23

1328), when this church was dedicated, probably (says Dr. Oliver),¹ on account of certain alterations and improvements then contemplated by Sir Stephen de Haccombe, the exact date of whose death is not known, but supposed to be in 1331. In the foundation deed, written about 1341, for erecting the parish church into an arch-presbytery, it sets forth that Sir Stephen had proposed to have made the endowment, but was prevented by death; but that his heir, Sir John Lercedekne, knt., the heir to his property, had fully entered into his views and wishes, and with the concurrence and approbation of the bishop had erected an establishment here for six priests, the superior of whom was to be denominated the archpriest, and endowed it with the tithes of Haccombe, and also of St. Hughes de Quethyock in Somerset, the patronage of which Sir Hugh "had acquired previously to his decease. These six clergymen were indeed chantry priests, and were, besides other duties, to pray for the said bishop (Grandisson ob. July 15, 1368), for Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, for Sir John Lercedekne, and his wife, Cecily, and for their children, for Margaret, relict of Sir Stephen de Haccombe, and for Robert de Pyle, clerk, then living. A priest was also to celebrate mass for the repose of the souls of the founder, Sir Stephen de Haccombe, knt., Sir Thomas Lercedekne and his wife, Matilda (parents of Sir John Lercedekne aforesaid), for Jordan de Haccombe and his wife, Isabella, and for all the faithful departed. The duties and dress of the priests are there set forth, and also their salaries and other matters."²

In this church are still remaining some fine encaustic tiles, which Lord Alwyne Compton fully and at length describes.³ This writer thinks that the pavement, which extends the whole width of the chancel, was taken up and relaid about 1759, except three rows to the last, immediately below the steps leading to the communion table. The devices on the tiles are chiefly those conventional patterns with which we are well acquainted, being marygold or Catherine-wheel windows, two birds in a circle placed back to back, with a sprig of some plant between them.⁴ A tile within a circle, having the corners filled with foliage growing from it, and having a sort of diamond formed by circles spread from the corners as centres.⁵ This diamond is filled by a cross and four squares, the four spaces formed by the intersecting circles having fish in them. These are some of the patterns; but the most interesting, by far, are the ones bearing on them coats of arms, which are six in number:

1. A lion rampant,⁶ the corners filled with a foliated ornament;
2. The

¹ Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon, vol. i, p. 157 et seq.

² See Oliver's *Eccl. Ant.*, p. 157.

³ Journal Arch. Inst., iii, 151.

⁴ This pattern of tile is to be seen in Exeter cathedral.

⁵ This pattern is to be found in the Exchequer Chamber in Exeter cathedral.

⁶ A lion rampant is borne in the arms of Redvers, Nonant, and Pomeroy, all Devonshire families.

arms of England placed diagonally, with monstrous animals filling the sides and top; 3. The arms of Haccombe similarly arranged, with monstrous animals as in the preceding tile; 4. The same arms, with foliage instead of animals at the sides and top; 5. A shield bearing three chevrons, each surmounted with a zig-zag line, the top of the shield dancetté, filled at the corners with small lions, their backs being turned towards the shield. This tile is probably meant for the arms of Lercedekne, who bore *argent* three chevrons *sable*, the zig-zag line representing a diaper; 6. A shield bearing two bars embattled between seven fleurs-de-lis, three, three, and one. Whose these arms were it is impossible to decide at present. Sir Warren Lercedekne presented a priest to Haccombe in 1390, who was the last of that name, and Sir John Lercedekne, his father, presented in 1342, so that the date of the tiles would be between 1342 and 1390. Ere leaving this subject, Mr. Crabbe noticed one peculiarity of this pavement in the absence of plain tiles, whether square or oblong.

The earliest effigy in this church is that of a warrior of the Haccombe family, which is of exquisite design and execution. The figure, which is cross-legged, occupies a portion of the sedilia on the south side of the chancel, which it is hardly necessary to observe was not its original situation. The material of which it is composed is a hard red sandstone, on which is a coating of plaster a quarter of an inch thick, beautifully moulded into the form of chain mail, once gilt, and having a black foliated pattern running over the whole of the armour. This pattern is not raised, and was therefore most likely only painted on the gilding, and did not form any pattern worked in the mail itself. The only portions of plate visible on the figure are the poleyns or steel coverings for the knees, which just appear about the middle of the thirteenth century, and are to be seen on the effigy of Gilbert Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1241, and on that of William Longuespée the younger in Salisbury cathedral, who died in 1250. This is most likely the effigy of that Sir Stephen de Haccombe mentioned by Sir W. Pole in his "Collections for Devon" as living in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Henry III, A.D. 1243, and the founder of the original church, which was, on account of alterations, dedicated by Bishop Grandisson on the 19th July, 1328. The head of this figure lies on a cushion placed cornerwise on another, and has on a *coif de mail*, showing the face but covering the neck, where it is met by a tunic fastened round the waist with a narrow belt. On this tunic are still visible the sable bends of Haccombe. A *guige* of a blue colour, passing over the right shoulder, sustains the shield bearing the arms of Haccombe. The sword, broad and short, is pendent from a wide buckled belt, on which are green diapers hanging across the body. The weapon seems to have been just sheathed, as the hands, in mailed gloves divided into fingers, rest,

the one on the pommel, whilst the other grasps the scabbard near the top. Below the knees the legs are mailed, and on the feet, which rest on a lion, are prick spurs.

The late Mr. Stothard, author of the "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain," whose labours were so sadly cut short by an untimely accident in this county, spent a long time in the cautious examination of this monument, and produced the beautiful plate illustrating Lysons' history of the county.¹ Indeed, it is quite impossible for anyone to observe it without deep interest, both as an early and fine example of monumental art, as well as a truthful memorial of one who lived during that stirring time of the world's history when the mail-clad warriors of the west strove to recover from the Moslem rule the city and sepulchre of our Lord.

Pass we now to two memorials of the house of Haccombe, one occupying the arch under the first window of the north aisle, holding in her hand on her breast a heater shaped shield, on which are the Haccombe arms; the other, raised on a base, is under the second arch of the nave, and holds in her hand a closed book, on the cover of which is the coat of arms of Haccombe. The figure under the arch is much decayed through damp, and it is now impossible to make out more than the fashion of the clothing. On her head is a veil, and under the chin is a gorget. Her head is supported by two censing angels—one, almost entirely destroyed, rests on a pillow. The dress is a long loose mantle, gathered up under the right arm as if to curtail its length above another garment, the tight sleeves of which are visible on both arms, one lying by her side, the other sustaining the before-mentioned shield. The arms are obtusely pointed, and rest on a dog. The other figure, holding a book, is in a much better state; and with the assistance of water Mr. Crabbe was enabled to discover on the mantle, of a reddish brown, lined with a lighter colour, and bordered with black, the remains of several heater shaped shields, which the same simple means showed were the Haccombe arms, as appearing on the cover of the book carried in her left hand. The mantle of this figure, like the last, is gathered under her right arm, and is fastened by two cords across the breast. The under garment, of an apple green, falls in loose folds over the feet, and rests on a dog. The great resemblance existing between these figures and the heraldic decorations still remaining on the dress of the latter, and the presence in both of the veil, and gorget,² and loose robe, point, Mr. Crabbe thought, to the period between the years 1330-50, in the reign of Edward III. This style of female costume was to be found common in the reigns of the three Edwards (1272-1377); but in no

¹ Devonshire, p. cccxxxii.

² See effigy of one of the Ryther family in Ryther church, Yorkshire. Hollis monument, and Fairholt, *British Costume*, p. 115.

instance had Mr. Crabbe found the heater shaped shield used as an accessory to female dress, save in the instance here recorded. A fine example of the gorget and trailing robe,¹ adorned with armorial bearings, is to be seen in the Louterel Psalter, executed for Sir Jeoffrey Louterell, who died in 1345. Dr. Oliver inquires whether these effigies be not intended, the one holding a shield, for Margaret, the wife of Sir Stephen Haccombe, who was alive in 1341, and the one holding a book, for Cecily, the lady of Sir John Lercedekne. Mr. Crabbe thinks, from the existence of the Haccombe arms on the book and the dress of that figure, that it was intended to commemorate Isabella, the daughter of Sir Mauger de St. Aubyn, and wife of Jordan de Haccombe, both dead in 1341, as shown by the foundation deed, and not Cecily, Lady Lercedekne, as then the arms would have been those of Lercedekne and not Haccombe.

Between this monument under the arch and the one next described there projects from the wall of this north aisle, about six feet from the ground, the remains of a vested arm, the hand having perished; this once sustained a pricket light, which burnt ever before the shrine of some saint now destroyed.

Under the second arch of this aisle is a curious truncated cross raised on a stepped base, supposed to have been the memorial of Robert de Pyle, clerk.

We now arrive at a class of monuments which have largely occupied the time and exhausted the speculations of antiquaries—a diminutive effigy. This is placed on a base of freestone battlemented, and measures only two feet two inches in length. It represents a boy clothed in a jupon, ornamented down the centre with a row of quatrefoils, and ending in a sort of escallopped edge round the loins in a massive belt without any weapons. The hands are joined in prayer, and the bare head rests on a cushion placed anglewise on another, sustained by two seated angels. The feet rest on a dog. Traces of red colour are found, the angels; green is also visible in small portions on the jupon, and on the legs and shoes are remains of black. The material of which the figure is made is alabaster. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*² compares the dress of this figure to the effigies of the youthful William of Windsor, son of Edward III, in Westminster Abbey, and to that of William of Hatfield, another son of that monarch, in York Cathedral, who was born in 1335 and died in his childhood. Mr. Crabbe hazarded some slight conjectures as to the identity of this figure, but the absence of all heraldry or inscription leaves the matter one of hypothesis alone.

On a high battlemented base, under the first arch of the nave, is the

¹ See Sloane MSS. 3983, and Planché's *British Costume*, p. 115, for figures *temp. Edward I.*

² Vol. xxi, p. 381, April 1844, with plate executed by Mr. Robt. Stothard.



tomb of Sir Hugh Courtenay, knight, of Haccombe and of Boconnoc in Cornwall. He was brother to Edward de Courtenay, called the "blind earl," who succeeded his grandfather as the third earl of Devon. He married, secondly, Philippa, daughter of Sir Warren Lcercedekne, whose effigy lies beside her husband, who died on the 5th March, 1425 (4th Hen. VI).¹ The lady wears a jewelled and reticulated headdress, whence depends a veil. The head rests on a rich tasselled cushion, which is supported by two angels. She wears a *cotchardie* open at the neck, the tight sleeves of which end in the mitten-shaped terminations below the wrists. The hands are joined in prayer. A long skirt falls in ample folds over the feet on to the back of a dog which supports them. The dress is completed by a loose, flowing mantle. The knight is arrayed in a complete panoply of plate, not a link of mail being visible. On his head is a pointed bascinet; and serving as a pillow, is his tilting helmet surmounted by the ancient crest of the noble house of Courtenay, a plume of feathers rising from a ducal coronet. Round the neck is a gorget, below which is a globular breastplate, apparently covered by a surcoat which ends in a plain border. He has no shoulder-pieces; but at the elbow-joints are roundels. The hands were joined in prayer; but are now broken off at the knuckles, and shew the remains of gauntlets. Round the hips is a broad buckled belt, ornamented with pateras, which sustains a heavy sword balanced by the remains of a misericord, which once stood prominently out from the figure, as if more ready for use. The legs and thighs are also in plate, and the knees are protected by roundels like the elbows. On the feet, which rest on a lion, are sollerets, with which the spurs were probably screwed, as no straps or attachments for them are visible.

We have now arrived at a period when the identity of the monuments is certainly ascertained, having entered on those of the family of Carew: a name, it is to be hoped, long destined to hold that which they acquired by the marriage of Sir Nicholas with Joan, the daughter of the last described Sir Hugh Courtenay and Philippa Lcercedekne.²

The earliest example of a monumental brass in Haccombe church is that of Sir Nicholas Carew, who died on the 13th Sept., 1469, in the ninth year of the reign of Edward IV. The armour of this figure is very rich. He has on his head a round salade, raised to shew the face. On the shoulders are paldrons differing in size and shape. On the right shoulder is a peculiarly shaped plate of steel called a *moton*. The hands, joined in prayer, have on their gauntlets, not divided into fingers. The

¹ Sir Hugh Courtenay presented to Haccombe in 1409, and again in 1413.

² This Sir N. Carew died before 1448 (ob. May 2, 1446,—25th Hen. VI) as in a deed dated in that year she describes herself as "*que fuit uxor Nicholai Carew, militis*"; and on the 5th Oct. 1450, she obtained a license from Bishop Lacy to be married, without banns, to Sir Robert Vere.

elbow- and knee-plates are large and fan-shaped. The sword is long, and girt in front of the body, and is balanced by a misericord. On the feet, which rest on a mount, are sollerets, to which rowelled spurs are attached. At the four corners of the stone are heater-shaped shields bearing the Carew arms: *or*, three lions passant guardant *sable*, armed and langued *gules*. The inscription, in black letter, is:

“Armiger insignis jacet hic Carew Nicholaus;
Prudens, egregius, de stirpe nobili natus.
Vitam præsentem Septembbris clausit cundo
Ab isto mensis die decimo tercio mundo
Edwardi Nono regni quarti regis anno
Necnon milliō cccc^{ae} pleno
Cū sexageno nono dñi mei nato
Cujus solamen aē cito det Deus. Amen.”

The next monument is a brass in memory of Thomas Carew, Esq., who died March 28, 1576. He wears a close fitting morion on the head with a visor up, shewing the face. The body is cased in plate, except where the large breeches appear,—those absurd appendages of Elizabeth's reign. An enormous two-handed sword hangs in a loose belt across the body. Four heater-shaped shields, with the Carew arms, are at the four corners of the stone to which the figure is fixed. The inscription, in Roman letters, is:

“Hic jacet corpus Thomæ Carewe
Armigeri qui obiit 28 die Martii
A° Dñi 1586. Ætatis suæ 68.”

Near this brass is another, of the wife of the above, in the starched ruff and hoop of the same reign. She is represented standing with her hands joined in prayer. She died Nov. 19, 1589. Over her head is a shield bearing the arms of Carew impaling those of Huddy: *argent*, a fess indented *pale vert* and *sable* consed of the second in chief a mullet. At her feet is this inscription:

“Hic jacet Maria Carew uxor Thomæ
Carew de Haccombe Ar et filia Willmī
Huddye de com. Dorset Ar qui obiit
xix^o die Novembbris anno Domini 1589.”

Close by is another brass, in memory of Elizabeth Carew, who died on Ascension Day 1611. It is similar to the preceding, being a standing figure in a ruff and hooped dress; the hands joined in prayer. Over her head is a shield bearing the arms of Carew and Hill of Thelston: *argent* a chevron between three water bougets *sable*, baron and femme. At her feet is this inscription: “Here lyeth Elizabeth Carewe, the wife of John Carewe of Haccombe, Esq., and daughter of Robert Hill of Shelstead, Esq., who died on Ascension Day a° Dñi 1611.”

The last brass in this church is one dated 1656, to the memory of Thomas Carew and Ann his wife, who are represented kneeling before a *prie Dieu* ornamented with a skull: he in the half-armour of the time, having behind him five sons also kneeling; one, like his father, in half-armour; the others wearing civil dresses. His wife is on the other side of the *prie Dieu*, and has one daughter kneeling behind her holding between her hands a skull. The whole plate is profusely adorned with angels, skulls, scythes, and hour-glasses. Above is a detached oval plate having on it the arms of Carew impaling Clifford: *chequ or and azure, a fess gules charged with a crescent supported by two antelopes gules armed and engrailed argent*; beneath is a ribbon on which was a motto, now illegible. The whole is surmounted by an esquire's helmet having on it the well-known crest of the Carew family,—the top of a man-of-war *or*, issuant therefrom a demi-lion *sable*.¹ There are also two shields bearing the arms of Clifford and Carew. The inscription is: "Here lyeth the bodies of Thomas Carew, Esquier, & Anne his wife, who deceased the 6th & 8th day of December A.D. 1656.

"Two bodies lye beneath this stone,
Whom love & marriage long made one.
The soul conjoined them by a force
Above the power of love's divorce.
One flame of love their lives did burne,
Even to ashes in their urne.
They die, but not depart, who meet
In wedding & in winding sheet:
Whom God hath knit so firm in one,
Admit no separation;
Therefore unto one marble trust
We leave their now united dust,
As rootes in earth embrace to rise
Most lovely flowers in Paradise."

Under an arch at the eastern end of the north aisle is an altar-tomb, on which is the following inscription:

"Hic jacet in cripta avorum sepultus
Henricus Carew, baronettus,
Qui obiit xxxi die Octobris
Anno Dñi MDCCXXX
Etatis suæ li."

Mr. Crabbe having thus described the various monuments, remarked that there was good reason to believe that there were others formerly

¹ This curious crest is supposed to have been granted to "Sir Thomas Carew, who, with Sir Gilbert Talbot of Treheneld, in the absence of the Earl of Dorset, Admiral of England, was appointed on the 18th of February, 1415, leaders of men-at-arms and archers going to sea, with all the powers of admirals, previous to the battle of Agincourt, which was fought on the 25th day of October in the same year, 1415." (See Sir H. Nicolas's *History of the British Navy*, vol. ii, p. 407.)

placed in the church, since Leland, in his *Itinerary*, says that there are “divers fair tombes of the Lereedeknes at Haccombe.” It was remarkable that of the families, owners of Haccombe, Lereedekne is represented by one monument only. Mr. Crabbe concluded his paper by remarking that, “in this little church are the monuments of those who lived and acted in the most stirring times of our English annals,—from the crusading period to the Wars of the Roses, through the adventurous reign of Elizabeth to the more recent time of the struggle between the first Charles and his subjects. The contemplation of these times past leads us to the present, and the numerous advantages we now possess,—not the least, perhaps, being the great interest taken in matters archaeological, which leads to their consideration and discussion; thus bringing together, from distant places, those interested in such matters, and enabling us to derive, from the assembled talent of an Association like the present, much information on many subjects which individuals singly can never hope to attain.”

Mr. Crabbe then conducted the party over the church; and discussion was held with Mr. Planché and others descriptive of the several monuments. They then departed for Compton Castle, where Mr. Lawrence read a short paper embodying the remarks of Mr. Spence in relation to its history and peculiarity of structure. Mr. Gordon Hills minutely examined its several parts; and these communications, together with illustrations, ground-plan, etc., prepared by Mr. Hills, will appear in the next *Journal*.

Tor Abbey and Castle formed the next objects of inquiry, under the conduct of Mr. Ashworth.

Tor Abbey, in the deanery of Ipplepen, was a Norbertine abbey founded in the reign of Richard I (1196) by William Lord Briwere. The Norbertine order was one of the richest in England, and established by St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburgh, in 1121. The mother house was situated in the Valley of Premontre, in the diocese of Laon; and the order took its name of Praemonstratensians from the place in which the building was erected. Thirty-two houses were established as belonging to this order in the space of one century; and at the dissolution their estimated rental amounted to £4,807 : 14 : 1.

Tor Abbey was dedicated to the honour of the Holy Saviour, the Holy Trinity, and the Blessed Virgin, and was the most wealthy house of the order. The very few remains now to be seen of the conventional church and chapter house are yet sufficient to display the solidity and magnificence of the original fabric. In Leland's time¹ there were three fair gate-houses with octagonal turrets, only one of which is now to be seen; and under its vaulting may be traced the arms of the abbey,—*yules*, a chevron between three croziers (which have been often absurdly reported as 999,

¹ *Itiner.* iii, 41.

and stated to be the date of its foundation); of Briwere, *gules*, two bends *undy, or*; of Mohun, *or*, a cross engrailed *sable*, and an eagle displayed; and of Speke. The ancient refectory in 1779 was converted into a chapel, and has a cradled roof. Some vaulting also extends through a considerable portion of the building. The late Dr. Oliver,¹ from an attentive examination of the ground-plan, presumes the choir of the abbey church to have been seventy-two feet in length by thirty in breadth; the transept, ninety-six feet in width; and the entire length of the fabric, including the Lady's chapel, to have measured about two hundred feet.

In various diggings remains of tessellated pavement, stone coffins, etc., have been found; and several of the benefactors to the abbey are recorded to have chosen it for their burialplace. William Briwere, the younger, died in 1232, and was there deposited. William de Bokeland and Peter Fitzmatthew have also been mentioned as here interred.

The dissolved monastery was granted, by letters patent of Henry VIII, to John S. Leger, Esq., in 1543; and he, by deed, granted it to Sir Hugh Pollard, whose grandson, in 1580, granted it to Sir Edward Seymour, Knight, who, in 1598, sold it to Thos. Ridgway, Esq., ancestor of the Ridgways afterwards earls of Londonderry, with whom it remained until 1653 or 1654, when it was sold to John Stowell, Esq.; from whom, in 1662, it was purchased by Sir George Cary, in whose descendants the property still remains.

Dr. Oliver has given a list of the abbots from 1196, the charter of foundation, the confirmatory charter of John; another of Beatrice de Valle, wife of William de Briwere; and others; together with a copy of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Henry VIII), to which the reader is referred.²

The Association then proceeded to Torquay, where the party partook of refreshments. Some members paid a visit to Kent's Cavern; and the whole party returned to Exeter to the evening meeting in the Public Rooms, T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., occupying the chair.

Mr. E. Levien, F.S.A., read a paper, "On Unpublished Devonshire MSS. in the British Museum" (see pp. 134-145 *ante*); and Mr. Peter Orlando Hutchinson delivered a lecture "On the Hill Fortresses, Tumuli, and some other Antiquities, of Eastern Devon" (see pp. 53-66 *ante*). The meeting then adjourned.

¹ *Mouasticon Dioc. Exon.*, p. 170.

² *Ib.*, pp. 172-191.

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MEMOIR OF THOMAS CHARD, D.D.,
SUFFRAGAN BISHOP, AND LAST ABBOT OF FORD ABBEY,
DORSETSHIRE; LATE IN THE COUNTY OF DEVON.

BY JAMES H. PRING, M.D.

THE age in which we live is sufficiently remote from that great, absorbing event in the religious history of our country, the Reformation, to enable us to look back on the period of its enactment undisturbed by those fierce passions which it called into existence, and which it has required all the influence of the softening hand of time, even from that period to the present, to assuage. Viewed, however, from the vista in which the lapse of upwards of three centuries has served to enshroud the monastic institutions of our land, and aided by the presence of the genial though distant beams of enlightening charity, it is surprising, amidst the enormities charged upon them at the time by their spoilers, how much there now appears to have been connected with these establishments that commends itself to our reverence, and has a lasting claim upon our gratitude. To say that they were human institutions, and, as such, that even the influence of religion did not avail to exempt them, especially in a rude and semibarbarous age, from the abuses and corruption inseparable from all schemes of human device, is what must readily be conceded; though it is now becoming generally admitted that the instances of profligacy were the exception

rather than the rule amongst them, and that these were eagerly seized upon and used for private ends by those interested in bringing the whole body into disrepute. With this admission, therefore, the spirit of religion will, it is apprehended, be best fulfilled by dropping the veil of oblivion over those failings which these conventional establishments disclosed as incident to our common nature; and by endeavouring rather to extract and dwell upon the good they were undoubtedly the means not only of diffusing at the time throughout the length and breadth of our land, but also of transmitting as a sacred bequest to posterity.

With this object it is that I am induced to endeavour to delineate more fully than has yet been done the outlines, now well nigh obliterated, of the life of an ecclesiastic of those times, in the belief that it will be found to furnish another instance, in addition to those already well known, which may tend to relieve the body of the clergy of those days from the unjust opprobrium which for a long period it has been the custom too generally and indiscriminately to heap upon them; whilst it will, at the same time, bring us acquainted with many topics of great antiquarian interest in the county of Devon.

In reviewing, then, the list of abbots of the once noted monastery of Ford in Devonshire, many of whom were eminent both for their piety and learning, the last—though it may be truly said not the least illustrious amongst them—was Thomas Chard, D.D., the subject of the present brief memoir. His career, less conspicuous in the eye of the world than that of his early predecessor, the famous Baldwin (who, from a humble origin, rose through successive steps to the abbacy of Ford, and thence to the archbishopric of Canterbury, signally to adorn this his high office), is nevertheless possessed of considerable interest, more particularly as relates to his own county and the sphere in which he moved as abbot, at an eventful period, of one of its most magnificent and important monasteries.

We are informed by numerous writers that Thomas Chard, D.D., suffragan bishop, and the last abbot of Ford Abbey, was born at Tracy's Hays (now known as Tracy), in the parish of Awliscombe, near Honiton, Devonshire. Sir William Pole, the great antiquary of Devon, tells us that Tracy was originally part of the adjoining ancient manor of Ivedon,

which had been held from the Conquest by a family of the same name, the last of whom, William de Ivedon, divided the estate (about A.D. 1200) between his three daughters, his heirs, married respectively to Robert de Stanton, Richard de Membiry, and William Tracy. On receiving that portion of the estate that fell to him in dowry, we learn from the same author that "Tracy¹ called his part Tracyeshayes; and soe by Mabbe it descended to Tho. Charde, sonne of Alis, daughter of Roger Mabb, and contyneweth (about A.D. 1606) in the issue of Chard"; whilst Prince informs us more specifically that the "Tho. Charde" here alluded to was the father or grandfather of the abbot of whom we are speaking.² It must have been about the year A.D. 1470 that this eminent man was born at Tracy aforesaid. Of his early years we know but little, but his subsequent career affords the best evidence of the care and attention bestowed upon him in his youth; and we may judge that his family were of good repute and standing in this locality,³ both from the circumstance of his ancestor having married the heiress of Tracy, and also from the lengthened period (about four hundred years) during which they afterwards held the estate in unbroken possession in their own name. And here it may be well to observe that though it is chiefly in relation to his office as abbot, such notices as we have of Dr. Chard have been handed down to us, yet it will be seen as we proceed that he claims our regard also in numerous other important aspects; and of these more particularly as suffragan bishop, which sacred function he zealously discharged during a considerable part of two prelacies.

We gather from various sources that Thomas Chard received the chief part of his education in the university of Oxford; and we are told that he entered early at St. Bernard's (now St. John's College), followed his studies with much diligence, and having taken his degrees in arts, quitted

¹ Sir William Pole gives his arms, "Tracy of Ivedon, *argent*, three saltires *sable*."

² Worthies of Devon, p. 195.

³ The name occurs also in the adjoining county of Dorset about the same period. Robert Chard was prior of St. John the Baptist, Bridport, in 1534; John Chard, brother probably of Robert, was incumbent of the hospital of St. John the Baptist, in the same place, in the year 1553; and in his *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Browne Willis tells us a Thomas Chard was returned to parliament, as member for Bridport, in the year 1555. There can be little question that a relationship subsisted between these and the family of the abbot.

Oxford, and retired again to a country life in his own county. Here, devoting his time to the culture of learning and religion, he was led before long to enter on the monastic life; and having become a monk of the Cistercian order, in the abbey of Ford (of which celebrated monastery he afterwards became abbot), he, in the years A.D. 1505 and 1507, proceeded to take his degrees respectively as bachelor and doctor of divinity at Oxford; being recorded, as we are informed in the public register of the time, as a man illustrious for his great learning and virtue,—“*vir magnâ doctrinâ et virtute clarus*,”—no mean encomium at a time when Oxford stood so pre-eminent for learning.

Notwithstanding, however, this public testimony to his erudition, it is to be regretted, as Prince observes, that he “left no writings behind him, or none that became public”; so that as regards the particular department in which his learning chiefly displayed itself, we are left in uncertainty. That he was possessed, however, of a very refined and cultivated taste, is attested even at the present day by numerous and lasting proofs, which serve at the same time as monuments of his munificence and piety, and in reference to which Prince, with his usual quaintness of style, bears the following testimony: “But for his virtue, that was signally diffusive, especially that kind thereof which consisteth in works of piety and charity,—the memorial of which hath descended to posterity in many particular instances (though some are undoubtedly buried in oblivion) with a fragrant odor home to this day.” Of the particular instances of his generosity which the ravages of time, and still more of human faction and discord, have suffered to descend to us, there are none now known to be remaining except those to be found within his own county; which, though it naturally partook most largely of his liberality, must yet by no means be supposed to have set a limit to that “signally diffusive” spirit of charity which appears to have been so distinctive and characteristic a feature of his disposition. We accordingly find that he was no less mindful of the source whence he had drawn his mental than his bodily nurture, and that whilst his name is connected with the endowment of a hospital in the immediate vicinity of his birthplace, it stands gratefully associated also with his college at Oxford; to which, we are told, he became a considerable benefactor,

either by repairing the old, or by adding new buildings; and Wood tells us that "his memory was there preserved, as a token of it, in several of the glass windows of that house, particularly in a middle chamber window on the south side of the tower over the common gate of that college (now St. John's); where was, if not still, his name contracted in golden letters (as the fashion was lately on coaches) on an escococheon *sable*, and hath behind it, palewise, an abbat's crozier."¹ These relies, designed to preserve his memory, and so much in keeping with the pious feeling that prompted his restoration of the decaying fabric of his college, Wood, as we have just seen, appears to intimate may have been in existence in his time (1690), though it seems rather probable that they perished in the general and indiscriminate work of spoliation and destruction which was everywhere enacted in the name, and under the sanction, of the Reformation. However this may be, it is certain that all trace of these memorials has now perished, as they were sought for some years since with much care and assiduity, but without success.

Having obtained his degrees, he quitted the scene of his early tuition, and returned again to his own county, where his conspicuous talents, which were wholly devoted to the service of religion, speedily secured for him the favourable regard of Dr. Hugh Oldham, then bishop of Exeter; of whom we learn from John Hooker,² that, "though he were no great scholar himself, yet was he a great favourer of learning and learned men." Within a year of the time of his taking his doctor's degree, we find Dr. Chard honoured with the highest dignity and mark of confidence his bishop could bestow,—that of selecting him as his own coadjutor in the episcopal office, a step soon followed by his appointment to numerous other important preferments.

Before, however, proceeding to notice more at length the career of distinction which was now about to open upon him, it seems desirable here to correct an error which has gained circulation from its having received the sanction of Wood, and having been subsequently adopted from him by

¹ *Fasti Oxonienses*, p. 654.

² "Catalog of the Bishops of Execestre, with the Description of the Antiquitie and first Foundation of the Cathedrall Church of the same. Collected by John Vowell alias Hoker, Gentleman. Lond., 4to., 1584."



Prince. I refer to the circumstance that these writers allude to two persons, each bearing the name of Thomas Chard, and both flourishing at the same time in the immediate vicinity of each other,—the one said by them to be a *Benedictine*, who was bishop of Solubria and prior of Montacute; the other a *Cistercian*, and the abbot of Ford Abbey. There can now be no doubt that those who have been thus treated of as two distinct persons, were in reality one and the same individual,—the Thomas Chard of whom we are here speaking. Dugdale, Cleaveland, Risdon, Lysons, Oliver, and many other authorities on the subject, make no allusion whatever to any second person of this name; whilst on the other hand several of them concur in speaking of the Thomas Chard who was born at Tracy, as being at the same time the last abbot of Ford Abbey and also suffragan to Bishop Oldham,—a fact which is, indeed, proved by the actual existence of monuments indubitably attesting it even at the present day. What may have been the cause originally suggestive of the confusion just alluded to, it is now by no means easy to discover; the only one that presents itself as affording any ground for it, so far as I can ascertain, being, that amongst his other preferments Thomas Chard for a time held the priorship of the *Benedictine* monastery of Montacute in Somerset: a fact which, it must be presumed, may have been regarded as irreconcilable with his being at the same time of the *Cistercian* order, as evidenced by his having entered at St. Bernard's College, Oxford, and his having professed in, and subsequently become superior of, so noted a Cistercian community as that of the “monastery of Foord” in Devonshire. On this point, however, and with a view of setting the question finally at rest, I may perhaps be permitted to refer to a portion of a letter, dated Exeter, 21st January, 1859, which the late Rev. Dr. Oliver, admittedly the highest authority on all questions of this nature, relating to the county of Devon, did me the favour to address to me on the subject. In reply to an inquiry on my part he says :

“Let me begin by expressing my *unbelief* that Thomas Chard, the abbot of Ford Abbey, and Thomas Chard, prior of Montacute, were distinct persons. From all quarters pluralities were heaped upon Thomas Chard, bishop of Solubria *in partibus infidelium*, the coadjutor or suffragan of Bishop Oldham, the bishop of Exeter, to support his honourable

station; in the same way as Cardinal Wolsey was allowed to hold *in commendam* the abbot's rank in St. Alban's monastery, and the bishopric of Winchester on the death of Richard Fox. The duties of superiority could be exercised by deputy. You are aware also that in the nine cathedrals in this country, which were served by a community of Benedictine monks, viz., Bath, Canterbury, Coventry, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester, their bishops, whether members of the secular clergy or of any religious order, Franciscan, Dominican, etc., always ranked as abbots of those Benedictine communities."

After this explanation of the only point of apparent discrepancy which could have afforded ground for the mistake, and with the high authority of Dr. Oliver thus decidedly expressed on the subject,—possessed, too, as he was of the advantage of all previously existing information upon it,—this question may, we think, be safely dismissed from further discussion, as upon Ford Abbey three shields on the front entrance tower still remain,—an indisputable proof of the fact that Thomas Chard united in his own person the offices of suffragan bishop and abbot of Ford Abbey.

Quitting this topic, however, it would seem well to bestow a few words on another point bearing, in respect of ambiguity, some similarity to it, viz., that we sometimes find the last abbot of Ford styled Thomas Chard *alias* Tybbes. The usage of thus employing an *alias*¹ was very prevalent at the period at which he lived, and was adopted even by individuals themselves. Thus we find a contemporary and noted countryman of his, John Hooker, Chamberlain of Exeter, born in 1521, author of many valuable works (and uncle to the celebrated Richard Hooker), is frequently styled John Hooker *alias* Vowel; and we are told² that "in early life he used to sign himself John Vowel *alias* Hooker, but in later years John Hooker *alias* Vowel." In the instance of the last abbot of Ford there is little doubt but that his mother's maiden name was Tybbes; that Chard was his paternal name is certain, not only from the concurrent testimony of every writer who makes mention of him, but also from the name, Thomas Chard, being thus entered in the register of his college at Oxford, and subsequently preserved, as we

¹ Bishop Veysey, to whom also Dr. Chard was suffragan, was styled Veysey *alias* Harman, having acquired the name of Veysey for no other reason, as Wood tells us, than "because he was educated in his infancy (as 'tis said) by one of that name." (*Athen. Oxon.*, p. 581.)

² Hooker's Works, by Keble. Oxford, 1845.

have before noticed, "in several of the glass windows of that house"; from its actual existence still in full over the entrance tower, with the initials T. C., on shields, etc., on various other parts of Ford Abbey; from his vesting the patronage of the leper hospital at Honiton, together with a yearly head-rent attached to it, in the heir male of this family of Chard, living at Tracy, his birthplace; from his will, which until lately was in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in that name; as well likewise as from tradition in the family of the writer of these pages, who still holds deeds and other objects relating to the family of Chard in his possession,—an ancestor of his having, in 1690, married Mary Chard of Tracy, of the same family, then still residing in the same house at Tracy in which the abbot was born.

Having digressed thus much in order to dispose of these two questions, which, if allowed to remain unnoticed, might still continue to prove a source of confusion, I proceed to consider in detail some of the more important offices which, during the course of a long and useful life, were discharged by this eminent ecclesiastic. It was in the early part of the year 1508, soon after he took his doctor's degree, that, as suffragan to Bishop Oldham, he was promoted to the episcopacy under the title of *Episcopus Solubricensis*; which sacred office he continued to exercise during the life of Oldham, and for some years afterwards with his successor, Bishop Veysey. With a view to the proper maintenance of his episcopal dignity, we find numerous preferments were bestowed upon Dr. Chard; and the rapidity with which they were multiplied may be regarded as the best evidence of his conscientious and successful discharge of the duties successively attaching to them, more particularly as we observe him frequently resigning such as he found himself unequal to attend to with due satisfaction to himself.

Soon after his consecration (26th Sept., 1508) he was collated by Bishop Oldham to the living of Torrington Parva, and was likewise preferred to St. Gluvias, in Cornwall; which latter, however, he resigned some years after. In June 1512, on the resignation of Dr. Richard Gilbert, he was collated to the vicarage of Wellington in Somerset, in the ancient church of which we may picture him to ourselves officiating before the altar, having at its back the elaborate and gorgeous reredos, then standing in full splendour and

preservation, and which has been so ably described by Mr. Giles;¹ and is now to be seen, a mere relic of antiquarian curiosity, in the museum at Taunton. On the 9th October, 1513, he was appointed to the wardenship of the College of Ottery St. Mary, Devon, which he resigned about three years subsequently to be instituted to the vicarage of Holbeton in the deanery of Totness. In the year 1515 he was chosen prior of Montacute, a monastery of the Cluniac or Benedictine order in the county of Somerset; being at the same time elected also to the priorship of Carswell, a small priory dependent upon Montacute, but situated in the deanery of Plymtree, Devon. The former of these he resigned in 1525, but the latter he retained until its dissolution. On the 24th October, 1520, he resigned the living of Holbeton, reserving, however, an annuity of 12*l.* a year from its profits; and in August of the following year he was instituted to the vicarage of Tintinhull, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, Somerset. It was in this year also, although an earlier period has been assigned by some, that he succeeded to the abbacy. Wood, in noting the time of his taking his degrees, speaks of him in his *Fasti* as "the Ven^{ble} Father Thomas Chard, a monk of the Cistercian order, and abbat of the monastery of Foord in Devonshire"; but this is a form of designation which would naturally be adopted, writing of him, as Wood does, nearly two hundred years after the time he flourished, yet without by any means intending to imply that he was abbot of Ford at the time he took his degrees. It is this circumstance, however, which has led Prince and others to conclude that he was abbot when he took his bachelor's degree in 1505, though we have abundant proof to the contrary; of which it may be sufficient here to mention that his predecessor, Abbot Whyte, did not die until the year 1521; and so late as the 18th April of that year he granted to Richard Hayball, his wife Jane, and their son William, a lease of the manor house of Sadborow, with various lands, fields, etc.

After this, on the 15th April, 1529, Bishop Veysey instituted Dr. Chard to the vicarage of Thorcombe, the parish in which his abbey was situated; and on the 10th April, 1532, to the rectory of Northyll, in the archdeaconry of

¹ Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, vol. i, p. 30.



Cornwall. The last preferment we find him recorded as having received was that to the office of minister of the College at Ottery St. Mary, of which he had previously held the wardenship. He was appointed minister on 22nd March, 1540, and resigned the office again in about three years time, just before his death, which happened in the early part of the year 1544.

In thus recounting this lengthened catalogue of Dr. Chard's preferments, there are those who may perhaps feel disposed to make it rather an occasion of cavil, and endeavour to represent it as furnishing evidence of little else than a spirit of cupidity. So far, however, as there are now any means of ascertaining the truth, there appears no reason whatever for entertaining so ungenerous a suspicion, and one so utterly at variance with the testimony which all writers have given of his general character; indeed, a sufficient refutation of any such idea is furnished not only by the evidence afforded by his many other charitable acts, but also by the fact that, of the numerous benefices he held, many are still recorded as having borne some lasting impress of his bounty.

In passing, then, from this enumeration of the offices he filled, we shall now proceed to advert to some of the more remarkable incidents of Dr. Chard's life, especially those we find recorded in connexion with the discharge of the duties the more important of his numerous appointments entailed upon him. We shall therefore notice him first in his office of suffragan bishop, and then in his character as abbot of Ford Abbey. I am indebted to a private letter from the late Dr. Oliver for the information that, at the end of Bishop Oldham's *Register* are given the several dates of Dr. Chard's holding ordinations as suffragan, "vice et auctoritate" of his ordinary, Hugh Oldham, Lord Bishop of Exeter. It was on Saturday of the Ember week (the 23rd September), 1508, in the first year of his consecration ("consecrationis suæ anno primo") that the Rev. Father Thomas, Bishop of Solubria, first administered holy orders in St. Mary's Chapel within the palace of Exeter. Again, on the 27th September in the following year, 1509, he gave ordinations in the church of the Dominican Convent, Exeter. On the 6th December, 1516, we read that he held a considerable ordination in the chapel of St. Katherine's Alms-house, Exeter ("in capella Sanete Catharine infra domum

elemosinariam juxta clausum ecclesiae cathedralis Exon"); and it appears he performed this office of conferring orders for the said diocesan bishop in all thirty-eight times. For his successor, John Veysey, he administered holy orders about thirty-four times. The last ordination he held for this lord bishop of Exeter was on 20th September, 1532, "in ecclesia sive capella domus aut prioratus de Karswell," in Broadhembury parish; soon after which he must have resigned the coadjutorship, as we find that William Collumpton, the last prior of St. Nicholas, Exeter, was shortly after consecrated bishop of Hippo, and as coadjutor to Bishop Veysey held his first ordination in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral on 21st December, 1532. It was during the period of Dr. Chard's suffraganship that such considerable alterations and additions were made in the church of St. Petrock, Exeter, as rendered it expedient it should be consecrated afresh,—a duty which devolved on him; and we accordingly find that, on 22nd July, 1513, Thomas Chard, suffragan of Bishop Oldham, consecrated, dedicated, and blessed the church ("Thomas, Episcopus Salubriæ, consecravit, dedicavit, et benedixit ecclesiam Sæi Petroci, Exon").¹ On the 21st August, 1523, a commission was directed to Thomas Chard, as suffragan to Bishop Veysey, for his benediction of Simon Rede, who had just been elected and confirmed abbot of Tor Abbey.² There is only one other instance in which I have met with his name as associated with the discharge of his episcopal office. I allude to his having officiated as suffragan, in place of his bishop, at the noted funeral of Katherine de Courtenay, widow of William Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and daughter of King Edward IV. This illustrious lady died at her residence, the Castle of Tiverton, on Friday, 15th Nov., 1527; and her funeral obsequies were performed with more than usual solemnity and state, Norroy King of Arms and Richmond Herald-at-Arms being sent down from London, we are told, expressly to conduct the ceremony; of which a very full and interesting account is given by Col. Harding in his *History of Tiverton*, though he has fallen into the mistake of speaking of the lord suffragan and the abbot of Ford as two distinct persons.

In passing now to a consideration of Dr. Chard's character as abbot, it might be esteemed desirable to offer some de-

¹ Oldham's *Reg.*

² Oliver's *Monasticon*, p. 17.

scription of his abbey,—that object which naturally claimed so large a share of his regard, with which his memory is more intimately associated than any other, and which has repaid the care he bestowed upon it, in so far as it still remains a monument of his piety, and one of the chief features of architectural beauty and antiquarian interest in the county which it adorns; but as this has been executed by Mr. Gordon Hills, and will be available to the associates, it is here omitted.¹

To Mr. Davidson, of Sector near Axminster, we are indebted for the discovery of the abbey seal, which had previously eluded the research of the editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon*. It has since been engraved in Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis* (first Suppl.), is of an oval form, and divided into three compartments. In the upper part, between two pointed windows, a bell appears suspended in a steeple. In the canopy beneath is the Blessed Virgin with the divine infant on her knee. On the dexter side is the Courtenay shield,—*or* three torteauxes with a label of three points. On the sinister is the shield of Beaumont,—barry of six, *vairy* and *gules*. In the lower compartment is the abbot erect, holding his crozier in the right hand and a book in the left; and three persons, apparently monks, on their knees. The legend is—

S'. commun'e : Monasterii : Beate : Marie : de : Forda.

In the internal administration of the affairs of his convent, the rule of Abbot Chard was marked by that steady and consistent discharge of his duty for which his public life was so conspicuously distinguished. We read that, for the period of nearly twenty years during which he presided over his abbey, "his government was judicious, and his devotion to his duties great. But his career must have been an anxious and troublous one. The approaching reformation was indicated by repeated occurrences which must have kept him in a state of constant alarm; whilst the unscrupulous character of the monarch held out little hope of consideration or respect for the ancient faith and its institutions, should they prove impediments to his kingly purposes. With reason might the crozier tremble in the grasp from

¹ Mr. Hills' article will appear in the second volume of the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, illustrated by an extended plan of the abbey and views of its several parts, forming a complete architectural discourse upon this interesting building.

which it was destined to be speedily and rudely snatched."¹ In the midst, however, of all the distracting influences incident to this eventful period, we find Dr. Chard attending with his accustomed devotion to the religious services of his office, and at the same time bestowing due regard upon the discharge of its numerous and various temporal duties. We learn that he engaged the services of William Tyler, M.A., of Axminster, to undertake the instruction of boys in the monastery in grammar, and also to expound the Scriptures in the refectory when required; and a long list of leases granted by him evinces his activity in matters more strictly secular.

The record, moreover, of a transaction highly interesting, because characteristic of the times, and which introduces him to our notice soon after his accession to the office, has very fortunately been preserved, and is still in existence, with his own signature as abbot attached. Whilst purporting to be simply an acknowledgment of a debt to Cardinal Wolsey, the ominously significant nature of the document was doubtless felt in all its force by the last abbot, and the thoughts it would tend to inspire may well account for the imperfect and unsteady character in which his name is traced. The original was in the possession of F. G. Coleridge, Esq., of Ottery St. Mary, and has been printed in the second Supplement (p. 31) to Dr. Oliver's *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*. It is as follows :

"Ego Thomas, abbas monasterii beate Virginis Marie de Ffordâ, ordinis Cisterciensis, Sacre Theologie Professor, fateor me debere Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Dño Thome Cardinali Eboracensi, necnon legato de latere, pro procurationibus variorum monasteriorum dicti ordinis infra regnum Anglie ciili. vs. solvendos London predicto Reverendissimo Dño Cardinali ad tria Festa Pascha immediate subsequentia post datum presentium per equales portiones. In ejus rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui et manu propriâ subscripsi. Datum anno Dñi millesimo quingentessimo vicesimo tertio, die vero mensis Augusti septimo decimo.

"Per me THOMA', abbē de Fforda."

Seal, a stag's head caboshed. Indorsed :

"Recepi xxv^{to} Aprilis a° 1524 primam solutionem tercie partis xxxiiijth. viij^r. iiiij^d"

If we would find the key to this document, which wears

¹ The Book of the Axe, by G. P. R. Pulman. London, 1854.

the appearance, and has been referred to merely as an acknowledgment of a simple debt, we readily discover it in the fact, that, pandering to the depraved tastes of the king, his master, and willing at any cost to procure him the means of continuing the indulgence of his sensual pleasures, Wolsey was led to avail himself of his prerogative as legate *à latere* from the pope, to extort money from the clergy,—that body which had a natural right to look to him rather for protection and support. It was on the 15th April, 1523 (only four months prior to the date of the abbot's letter which we have just given) that, in order to lend the semblance of authority to their proceeding, the king assembled parliament; convocation, according to custom, meeting at the same time. The opportunity thus prepared was too tempting to be resisted, and Wolsey, using the influence his character as legate gave him, succeeded, though not without formidable opposition, in exacting a considerable subsidy from the clergy. In this flagitious transaction is to be found the true explanation of the foregoing letter of the last abbot of Ford, bearing date only the August following; and this may be regarded as the first instalment in a series of acts of spoliation, which, though the final blow was for some time deferred, was nevertheless ultimately to result in that general confiscation of the entire property of the church, by which, within a period of two years, the king became possessed of the revenues of six hundred and forty-five convents, whilst ninety colleges were demolished in several counties, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals,—the whole revenue of these establishments, amounting to 161,000*l.*, which was about a twentieth part of the national income, being annexed to the crown.

To return, however, more particularly to our immediate subject, the storm, long impending, had now burst upon the larger houses, and Ford Abbey was not to be exempted from the common ruin. It was on the 8th March, 1539, that Dr. Chard, with feelings doubtless ill in accord with the wording of the document, was induced to sign the surrender of his abbey. We need only look, even now, on the magnificent pile on which he had profusely lavished both his pecuniary means and the best efforts of his taste, and which must have been further endeared to him by many sacred

associations, to feel assured that when he with the prior and canons assembled in the Chapter House on the aforesaid 8th March, it must have been with heavy hearts and reluctant hands that they attached their names and seals to the following document, which had been prepared beforehand for their signature, and which we here give in the form of a translated copy :

"To all the faithful in Christ to whom this present writing shall come:
 Thomas Chard, abbot of the monastery or abbacy, and of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of Ford, in the county of Devon, of the Cistercian order, and the same place and convent, everlasting salvation in the Lord.

Per me Thomā abbem. "Know ye that we, the aforesaid abbot and con-
 Willūs Rede, prior. vent, by our unanimous assent and consent, with
 John Cosen. our deliberate minds, right knowledge, and mere
 Robte. Yetmister. motion, from certain just and reasonable causes
 Johēs Newman. especially moving our minds and consciences, have
 Johēs Bridgwat'. freely and of our own accord given and granted,
 Thomas Stafford. and by these presents do give, grant, and surrender
 Johēs Ffawell. and confirm to our most illustrious prince, Henry
 W. Winsor. VIII, by the grace of God, king of England, lord
 Elizeus Oliscomb. of Ireland, supreme head of the Church of England
 William Keynston. in this land, all our said monastery or abbacy of
 William Dynyngton. Ford aforesaid. And also all and singular manors,
 Richard Kingesbury. lordships, messuages, etc. In testimony whereof
 we, the aforesaid abbot and convent, have caused
 our common seal to be affixed to these presents. Given at our Chapter
 House of Ford aforesaid, on the eighth day of the month of March, and
 in the thirtieth year of King Henry aforesaid. Before me, William Petre,
 one of the clerks, etc., the day and year above written.

"By me, WILLM'N PETRE."

Judging by what took place in similar instances throughout the land, we may conclude that no sooner had the required signatures to the above iniquitous document been obtained, than the work of destruction and pillage commenced; and though Prince states that, "by what lucky chance he knew not, Ford Abbey escaped better than its fellows, and continueth for the greatest part standing to this day," yet so manifest is the havoc that was committed even in the structure of the abbey itself, that we are rather disposed to agree with Risdon that it now merely "somewhat

sheweth of what magnificence once it was." Whatever may have been the "lucky chance" which led its spoilers to spare the buildings of the abbey to the extent we now see,—whether, as before hinted, the very beauty of the fabric may not have appealed to their cupidity, and have caused it to be retained as too rich a booty to be wholly demolished,—there is now no evidence to shew; certain it is, however, that the same motives or causes, whatever they may have been, were not suffered to operate in regard to the Church of the Blessed Virgin of Ford, which was at once consigned by the agents of the king to be razed to the ground,—of which in their estimation it was doubtless little else than a profitless encumbrance; and on the 28th October following the king himself, "the supreme head of the Church of England," granted the buildings, site, and precincts of the abbey, with all and singular its manors, lordships, and messuages, etc., to Richard Pollard, Esq. From this Richard Pollard, who was subsequently knighted by Henry VIII, the Ford Abbey estate passed to his son, Sir John Pollard, Knight, who sold it to his first cousin, Sir Amias Poulett, of Hinton St. George and Curry Mallet, Somerset, who, with his father Sir Hugh Poulett, had formerly been appointed head steward of the abbey by Dr. Chard; which, we are told, may have been the reason for granting the site of the abbey to Richard Pollard, brother-in-law to Sir Hugh.¹

Sir Amias, the father of Sir Hugh and the grandfather of Sir Amias the purchaser of Ford Abbey, was a benefactor to several churches, and also to the abbey and convent of Ford; which accounts for his arms being cut in stone on a shield outside the cloister built by Dr. Chard.

In tracing the various changes of tenure through which Ford Abbey with its demesne was now destined to pass, it is a somewhat curious and interesting fact, that in the course of about a century and a half it became the private possession of a family who were collaterally related to the last abbot. From Sir Amias Poulett, Ford Abbey passed again by purchase to William Rosewell, Esq., solicitor-general to Queen Elizabeth; who was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Rosewell, who, in the year 1649, conveyed Ford Abbey to Edmund Prideaux, Esq., the second son of Sir Edmund Prideaux, Bart., of Netherton, Devon. Mr. Prideaux filled

¹ History of Ford Abbey, p. 54.

the office of solicitor-general in 1648, and in the following year was made attorney-general to Cromwell. He left one son, Edmund Prideaux, Esq., who in 1655 married Amy Fraunceis, coheiress of John Franceis of Comb-Florey, Somerset, Esq.; and this family of Franceis, into whose hands Ford Abbey ultimately passed entirely, was descended, like that of Dr. Chard, from the heirs general of William de Ivedon,—Franceis¹ from the Stanton branch, and Chard from that of Tracy. In the year 1690, Margaret, the sole surviving daughter of Edmund Prideaux and his wife (Amy Fraunceis), married her cousin, Francis Gwin, Esq., of Llansanor, Glamorganshire, who thus inherited Ford Abbey; and was ultimately succeeded in his estates by his fourth son, Francis Gwin, who, dying without issue in 1777, devised Ford Abbey with all his other lands to his kinsman, John Fraunceis of Comb-Florey, and to his heirs male, on condition of their taking the name of Gwin; and in this family Ford Abbey remained until, at the decease of the late John Francis Gwin, Esq., without issue, it was purchased, in September 1846, by George F. W. Miles, Esq., the present proprietor. In the year 1842, from the inconvenience of its situation for county business, an arrangement was made by which the parish of Thornccombe, containing Ford Abbey, was transferred to Dorsetshire.

The annual revenues of Ford Abbey at the time of the dissolution have been differently estimated by Dugdale and Speed, the former computing them to amount to $374l. : 10 : 6\frac{1}{4}$, the latter to $381l. : 10 : 6$. In the Ecclesiastical Survey of Devon and Cornwall, returned to the crown by Veysey, bishop of Exeter, on the 3rd of November 1536, we find them recited in the following terms: “Decanus Honyton, abbatia de Forde, ubi Thomas Charde est abbas, totalis verus annuus valor tam temporalium quam spiritualium a die et anno prædictis ad $373l. : 11 : 0\frac{1}{2}$;” and of the pensions granted in compensation to the religious of the “howse of Ford” for their lives, the whole amounted to $161l. : 13 : 4$; of which the share of the ex-abbot was $80l.$ a year, together

¹ This family of Franceis or Fraunceis was originally of Franceis Court in the parish of Broadlist. Their arms were, *argent*, a chevron engrailed between three mullets *gules*. Sir W. Pole tells us the arms of “Fraunceis of Ivedon” were “the same, with a label of three *azure*.” The chapel of Clyveland, in Awliscombe, of which no trace now remains, was licensed in favour of this family, and they had a small manor in the adjoining parish of Buckerell.

with “fourtie wayne lodes of fyre wood, to be taken yerely during his lyfe owte of suche woods being no pte of demaynes of the said late howse, as thofficers of the king’s courte of the augmentacōns or there deputies for the tyme shall appoynte and assigne”—a poor compensation truly for the loss of his dignity and position as head of such an establishment as Ford Abbey must have been at that period, and to the splendour of which he had so largely contributed.

And here it must be observed that, great as we have seen the labours and devotion of the last abbot, in the cause of religion, to have been, we shall form but a very imperfect notion of them if we suppose that what has here been related represents by any means their real extent, or exhibits a full view of his numerous acts of unwearied beneficence. We are told expressly that many of them are “undoubtedly buried in oblivion”; and as this was stated nearly two centuries ago by so diligent an inquirer as Prince, we may well despair of being enabled to disinter and bring them to light at the present day. There is, however, one instance of his pious liberality, the record of which has been handed down to us, and the particulars of which are deserving of a more detailed notice. I allude to his endowment of the leper hospital of St. Margaret at Honiton,—an endowment so considerable that it has raised him to an equal honour with the original founder, with whom, indeed, it has on frequent occasions caused him to be confounded. No sooner was the sumptuous restoration of his abbey completed than we find him immediately directing his attention to the scene of his birth and early life, anxious to confer on it some benefit, and thus testify his gratitude for those advantages it had pleased Providence to bestow upon him in this the earliest sphere of his earthly pilgrimage. The lazaret hospital at Honiton, then in a lamentable state of decay, presented itself to his notice, and seemed just suited to call forth in him that spirit of active benevolence that was ever seeking some fresh object on which to expend itself. We accordingly learn that it was in the year 1530, only two years subsequent to the completion of his abbey, that he took upon himself the restoration and liberal endowment of St. Margaret’s Hospital in Honiton. On the question of the original foundation of this ancient charity both tradition and record are alike silent. We are indebted for the earliest notice we

have of it to the industry of the late lamented author of the *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, who, in searching the bishop's registers at Exeter, discovered that Bishop Brantingham, so early as 17th Sept., 1374, "granted an indulgence of twenty days to all true penitents "qui ad sustentationem pauperum leprosorum hospitalis Sancte Margarite de Honiton contulerint, donaverint aut assignaverint subsidia caritatis". Bishop Lacy (Dec. 6th, 1452) did the same in favour of all who should contribute to the support and relief "leprosorum virorum et mulierum in hospitali Sancte Margarite de Honiton." It is clear from these extracts that the Abbot Chard was not the founder of the hospital, though this, as before alluded to, has been frequently asserted by writers of eminence, amongst whom may be mentioned Prince;¹ whose account, however, is in other respects the fullest that has appeared; and as he tells us he extracted that portion which relates to the abbot and this endowment, from the original grants and papers, we make no apology for here availing ourselves of it *in extenso*. After stating that the hospital commonly known as St. Margaret's Hospital, was situated near a quarter of a mile out of the town of Honiton, on the east side of the road to Exeter, he proceeds :—

"It consisteth of an house with five apartments, one for the governor, and four others for four leprous people, with an handsome chappel annexed for God's service. To the maintenance whereof the abbot limited, appointed, and assigned out, divers closes or parcels of land, meadow and pasture, lying in Honiton and Awliscombe aforesaid, for the maintenance and sustentation of the said governor and the four leprous people of the said hospital for ever. That is to say, one close lying in Honiton, on the east side of the way leading to Exeter, containing by estimation two acres and three quarters; one other close thereunto adjoining, in Honiton aforesaid, containing by estimation three acres and one quarter; one other close in Honiton aforesaid, lying on the same side of the way aforesaid, containing by estimation one acre; the chappel, messuage, orchard, and herb garden, on the same side also, containing by estimation one yard of land; which how much that may be is uncertain. Moreover he gave one piece of meadow ground lying in Ottery Moor, in the said parish of Honiton, containing by estimation half an acre; two other several pieces of ground in Honiton aforesaid, lying on the west side of the same way, containing by estimation four acres; one meadow adjoining

¹ Tanner also in his *Notitia*.

ing to the said messuage, containing by estimation two acres; one other close in Honiton aforesaid, lying on the same west side of the way, containing by estimation five acres; and one meadow, called Spittle Meadow, lying in Awlescombe aforesaid, containing by estimation one acre and a half. All which, besides the house, garden, and orchard, amounts to about twenty acres of good land; and, with two closes given to the said hospital by the lords of the manor of Battishorn, in the parish of Honiton aforesaid, lying under Gobsworthy Hill, containing about two acres, the clear yearly value of five and twenty pounds and six shillings. This is over and besides the yearly head rent reserved out of the same, viz., three pounds of wax and one and twenty pence; for which four shillings in money was agreed to be paid yearly to the heir male of this family of Chard living in Awlescombe aforesaid. To whom was likewise reserved the nomination and appointment of the said governor's place as oft as the same should become void; who, with the consent of such governor for the time being had also the placing of all leprous persons into the said hospital upon the death or voidance of such as were formerly therein. For the nomination or admittance of any such person, twelve pence only was to be taken, and no more."¹

It is manifest from the foregoing passage that the abbot was anxious to connect this object of his bounty with his own birth-place and family, and that with this view he vested "the yearly head-rent" in "the heir male of this family of Chard living in Awlescombe aforesaid; to whom was likewise reserved the nomination and appointment of the said governor's place as oft as the same should become void," etc.; and that it was not, therefore, by an accidental circumstance, or any transaction connected with the dissolution of the colleges and hospitals, that the family of the abbot "became possessed" of this hospital, as Lysons² would lead us to infer, when he merely states, "after the dissolution of the colleges and hospitals, the representatives of Abbot Chard became possessed of this hospital"; whereas the abbot himself expressly vested the trusteeship in his own family, as we have just seen. Subsequently to the time of the abbot this patronage remained upwards of a century in the hands of the Chard family, and was well and duly administered by them; but after this period, it appears, the affairs of the hospital were misgoverned, and we are told that those who were appointed its trustees applied the profits of the land to their own use. A commission of pious

¹ Prince's *Worthies*, pp. 196, 197.

² Vol. ii, p. 283.

uses was thereupon directed, composed of the following gentlemen, viz. :

Willm. Put, of Combe, Esq.	John Pole, Bart.
Hen. Fry, of Deer Park, Gent.	William Fry, of Yarty, Esq.
Peter Prideaux, Bart.	Nicholus Put, of Combe, Esq.

And from a copy of a decree of the said commissioners, bearing date 18th June, 1642, it was presented by the jury under the said commission, that the ancestors of John Chard, the then possessor of Tracy, had "had the appointment of the governor of the said hospital as oft as the same had become void, and the placing of all leprous persons there; and that the said hospital had been misgoverned in the time of the said John Chard and of his father Richard Chard, and the profits of the lands of the hospital converted by them to their own use." Whereupon it was ordered that the hospital should from that time be under the management of the rector, churchwardens, and overseers, of Honiton, who should appoint the governor and four leprous persons, or in default of such objects, other poor persons; and that neither the rector, churchwardens, overseers, nor the governor, should take any gift or reward for the admittance of any leprous or poor people to the hospital, other than 12*d.* for each. At this time the jurors valued the lands of the hospital at 25*l.* : 6 : 8 *per annum*; but in the year 1814 the rents had increased in value to 97*l.* : 2. There were originally, as Prince states, four houses besides the governor's; but the funds of the charity having accumulated, four new houses were added in the year 1808, and since then the number of poor persons admitted has at times amounted to eleven. We ascertained that in June 1861 it was nine.

Writing of this charity in 1840, the late Dr. Oliver says: "In our account of Awliscombe we have mentioned St. Margaret's¹ chapel in Honiton parish, and have proved its early

¹ In speaking thus of the chapel, Dr. Oliver has somewhat failed in his usual accuracy, since neither in his own notice, nor in his extracts from the bishop's registers, is any mention of the *chapel* to be found. In each instance it is the *hospital* only that is specified; and Prince expressly particularizes "the chapel, messuage, orchard, and herb garden, on the east side of the road leading to Exeter, containing by estimation one yard of land," as one amongst the numerous instances of the abbot's special benefactions. We must therefore conclude that he gave the site, and built the present chapel, though a chapel may have existed there previously, and have fallen into decay.

foundation; to which, nearly two hundred years later, the Right Rev. Dr. Thos. Chard, abbot of Forde, proved himself a special benefactor.....The chapel, thirty-two feet long and thirteen broad in the interior, is now in a dangerous state, and calls for immediate repair."¹ This description is now happily no longer applicable, the chapel having of late years been put in a very decent state of repair, and the comforts of the poor attendants provided for. The western end of the chapel is divided from the rest by a partition, and serves the purpose of a belfry; and just beneath the apex of the western gable is a small bell, doubtless one of the original relics of the ancient chapel, bearing the inscription,

“GOD PRESERVE THE HOUSE,”

intended probably as a pious valediction by the Abbot Chard, which has to this day been so remarkably fulfilled.

Before quitting our notice of this chapel, there is a circumstance connected with it for which I am disposed to prefer the claim only of strong probability; but which, should it ever be ascertained as a fact, would tend to invest it with much additional interest. I refer to my belief that this ancient chapel was the burying-place of the last abbot of Ford. Most writers are agreed as to the period of his death, though none furnish us with any clue as to where he was buried; and Prince, after stating that he died about the year 1543, immediately remarks, “though where interred, I find not.” Had Thomas Chard not lived to be deprived of his abbacy, and to see his abbey fall into the hands of the spoiler, there can be little doubt that his last remains would have found their appropriate resting-place within the sacred precincts of the church of the Blessed Virgin of Ford; but torn, as he now was, from those associations by which his abbey must have been endeared to him, and stripped of his dignity as its head, what could have been more natural than that he should have desired to rest his bones in the later, though humbler and less conspicuous object of his benevolent solicitude,—the chapel of St. Margaret’s Hospital at Honiton,—to which his feelings would naturally be drawn from its close proximity to his birth-place, and from the means he took to connect its future welfare with his own family residing at Tracy in Awliscombe. It is not, however, from these considerations alone that I am induced to claim

¹ Ecclesiastical Antiquities, vol. ii, p. 74.

for St. Margaret's chapel the honour of containing the last remains of this eminent and truly pious man. In his account of the chapel, published in 1840, Dr. Oliver,¹ after remarking on its dilapidated condition, proceeds to state, "the west door is secured within by (instead of a lock) a large sepulchral slab, to which was formerly affixed a brass plate." Now, as there is no trace of any other interment ever having taken place in this chapel, and "a large sepulchral slab having a brass plate affixed to it," clearly indicates that it must have been placed to the memory of some one of more than ordinary note, does it not become a most natural, if not an almost legitimate conclusion, that this sepulchral slab with its brass plate (the only relic of the kind to be discovered within the edifice), recorded no other than the interment of the founder of the chapel itself,—the venerable ex-abbot of Ford? As the brass plate was lost at the time Dr. Oliver saw the stone, no certain information could be gathered from it; and except some fragments, still in the same situation, formed a part of the stone itself, which, from their appearance, I can scarcely believe, all tracee of the sepulchral slab itself is now gone. Unless, therefore, it should become necessary at any future period to open any portion of the floor of the chapel, or to dig to some depth in its vicinity, there seems but small chance of ever determining whether or not the chapel of St. Margaret's Hospital, Honiton, contains, as I am inclined to think, the tomb of its founder, the last abbot of Ford.

With the exception of his abbey and the hospital of St. Margaret at Honiton, the remaining monuments of Dr. Chard's taste and pious generosity, which time has suffered to descend to us, are now comparatively few even in his own county. Although I confess I have been unable to discover any record that will lend the sanction of authority to the opinion, I am on several accounts strongly disposed to believe that we are, in a measure at all events, indebted to his taste for the very beautiful aisle or chapel communicating with the north aisle of the nave of Ottery church, which has so often been made the subject of graphic description. In a note to a paper by John Duke Coleridge, Esq., M.A., read before the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, 11th Sept., 1851, we are told that "there are strong grounds for

¹ Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon, vol. ii, p. 74.

fixing the date of the erection of this aisle or chapel between the years 1503 and 1530,—that is, between 19 Henry VII and 21 Henry VIII. Independently of its architectural character, we have in the porch the arms of Oldham, who presided over the see from 1507 to 1523; and on one of the corbels within the aisle, those of Veysey, who succeeded him." From the occurrence thus, then, of the arms of bishops Oldham and Veysey, there can be little doubt that the building of this aisle was in progress in their day, during the time we know Dr. Chard to have been their suffragan, and their most intimate friend and ally, more particularly of Oldham. We further know that he was the warden of the college at Ottery from 9th Oct., 1513, to 16th Oct., 1518, and that during this period the work must have been constantly under his immediate observation. What, therefore, can be more probable than that he should have taken some part in influencing and promoting a work so congenial to his taste, and which has been described as being "perhaps the grandest specimen of the florid and most recent style of English architecture within the diocese of Exeter"? That there existed some cause which induced him to feel a special interest in this church, there can be no question, inasmuch as it is mentioned as one of the particular objects to which he became a benefactor under his will.

It is, however, in the church of his native parish that we must seek for the last remaining instance that can be relied on of the taste and munificence of Dr. Chard. I have the authority of Dr. Oliver for stating that the beautiful south porch of the parish church of Awliscombe, and also the glorious south window of the south chantry there, are both the work of Thomas Chard, the last abbot of Ford; though at what precise period of his life they were executed, I find no account. When Dr. Oliver first visited the church he described the groining and ornaments of the porch as having been encrusted and choked with whitewash; which, however, was removed some years since by the good taste of the present vicar, so that it now appears in all its original beauty.

From the time of the surrender of his abbey, the days of the last abbot appear to have passed unmarked by any incident of note. We have seen that the only preferment he received after that date was to the office of minister of Ottery church. Being then advanced in age, he resigned

this appointment in the year 1543; and the early part of the following year, 1544, is the date assigned by general consent as that at which the death of this eminent man took place. And that it must have occurred just at this period is placed beyond doubt by the fact that, in his vicarage of Thornecombe, then void by his death, he was succeeded by William Freke on the 20th May, 1544; whilst his will, which bears date 1st October, 1541, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 4th Nov., 1544. Although, as formerly hinted, it appears the will itself is now no longer to be found, we learn from various sources that he became a benefactor by it to the church of "St. Mary Otery in Devon," and also the churches of St. Mary Magdalen in Taunton, and St. John the Baptist at Wellington in Somersetshire; whilst Wood mentions likewise the church of "Holberton" in the latter county,—in mistake, as I imagine, for Holbeton in Devon, the vicarage of which he held for about two years, as we have already seen.

After the death of the abbot, the other incidental notices of this family of Chard are not numerous, yet they are quite sufficient to furnish evidence of the fact before adverted to, that the family continued at Tracy, in Awliscombe, for a period of about four hundred years, viz., from the beginning of the fifteenth down to the end of the eighteenth century. Not long after the death of the abbot we find Tracy in the possession of his nephew, or great-nephew, Richard Chard; of whom, together with other members of the family, sundry notices are to be found in the Awliscombe register and elsewhere. We find that "William Chard, the sonne of Richard Chard, was baptised the ffirst daie of februarie, 1589." Marie Chard, the daughter of Richard Chard, was baptised the 16th daie of Aprill, 1592." Humphry Chard was buried the 28th day of April, 1629. It was in 1642, as we have seen, that a commission of charitable uses was directed against John Chard, son of the aforesaid Richard Chard, for his maladministration of the affairs of St. Margaret's Hospital in Honiton. Mrs. Johan Chard was buried the 13th day of July, 1645. A Thomas Chard was buried in the north or Tracy aisle of Awliscombe church, 16th June, 1676. In 1690 Daniel Pring of Ivedon married Mary Chard of Tracy, and the descendants of this marriage are now the only remaining representatives of this family of Chard.

In the year 1701, when the first edition of Prince's *Worthies* appeared, he states, speaking of Tracy, that, "in that name (Chard) it continueth this day." Hannah Chard was buried the 6th March, 1753; and the writer of these pages has in his possession a deed bearing date 1748, in which the name of "John Chard, of Tracyshays, within the parish of Awliscombe, in the county of Devon, gentleman," occurs as one of the principal parties concerned. This John Chard was born in 1712, and died in April 1753. The names of his widow, Catherine Chard, and his brother-in-law, John Lewis of Plymouth, occur in a subsequent deed. In Polwhele's *History of Devon*, written about the year 1790, it is stated that "the late Mr. John Charde, the last male branch of the family, gave his estate (of Tracy) to his sister's son, John Charde Lewis, a minor, for whom his father, John Lewis, built a house at Tracy. John Charde Lewis died a bachelor; and the estate, by purchase, became the property of Jenkins."¹ All of which affords sufficient evidence, it is presumed, that this family of Chard held the estate of Tracy, the abbot's birth-place, for a period of just four hundred years.

In concluding this imperfect sketch of the subject of this memoir, I am sensible that in having ventured to carry the attention of my readers into a path of research so foreign to my ordinary pursuits, I stand in more than common need of their kind indulgence. The apprehension, however, that all authentic information respecting the last abbot of Ford was rapidly passing away, and even his very name becoming involved in doubt, induced me to endeavour to collect and arrange the many scattered notices which occur of him, into a fuller and more exact account than any previously existing. Although, as stated in the outset, his character presents few or no points of dazzling brilliancy, yet it commends itself no less to our regard by its plain, intrinsic worth. From the numerous notices of him which we have found to be still in existence, we are unable to gather that he ever made an enemy,—or, at least, we can discover none who have been willing to chronicle any ill of him; whilst on the other hand we have seen that, at the most distracting epoch in the history of the church, and at a time when every effort was made to overwhelm its ministers with the weight of

¹ Note at p. 328.

accumulated odium, he was still to be found at the post of duty in the unwearied exercise of practical benevolence, and devoting the best energies of a long and active life to the service of religion; so that on a survey of his character, Prince records him as being “an ornament to our country”; whilst in reference to the account here offered of him, the writer feels constrained to add that he was undoubtedly “worthy of a more worthy pen to have preserved his memory and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.”

ILLUSTRATIONS OF DOMESTIC MANNERS DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.¹

BY THE REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.

THE next roll that shall be examined commences in the twenty-fourth and enters upon the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward I. It begins on the feast of St. Michael, and, with a smaller one comprising five membranes, contains, upon thirty-five membranes, the expenses of the household of the Countess of Pembroke from Sept. 29, 1296, to the same day in the succeeding year.

It opens with a notice that she was at Inceburgh, or Inkberrow, in Worcestershire, where we find with her Thomas de Bottle and his wife, Dominus Jacob de Bogis, and others, together with Adamar de Valence and his constant attendant, John de Inkpenne. From this manor, which is returned on an inquisition as the property of her son, she went to Pilardinton in Warwickshire, another of his fiefs; then to Buckingham, Alfrichesye, Foulmire, and Exning, the two last being places in Cambridgeshire. At Exning, Adamar and Thomas de Berkeley joined the countess. She soon afterwards travelled to Donkeswood, Joyughs, Cherdeslo, Jeslope, Burford, Wydindon, and Gloucester,—which city she reached Oct. 13th, being the feast of Edward the Confessor. On the following day she passed through Chercheham; the next being Sunday, she took up her abode at her castle of Goodrich, where she remained until the 6th of May.

¹ In continuation from pp. 145-152 *ante*.

During this lengthened time of residence she received Gilbert de Clare and his family on several occasions, living with a large retinue, shewing hospitality to her friends, and feeding daily twenty poor people.

The eleventh membrane commences at the very close of December, and mentions that the Countess of Pembroke, Adamar de Valence, Dominus de Inkpenne, and others, were passing their Christmas at this charming place. It furnishes the expenses of nine days, amounting to 13*l.* 2*s.* odd. Amongst the items at this time are found a salmon costing 3*s.* 6*d.*, and the carriage of ale from Monmouth. On Friday, the vigil of the Epiphany, Thomas de Berkeley is mentioned amongst the guests.

We are now commencing the year 1297, and during a considerable part of it the Countess of Pembroke continued her residence in Goodrich Castle. On Wednesday after the feast of the Epiphany,—that is, on January the 9th,—Adamar departed, after breakfast, towards Newton, and we hear no more of him for some time. The accounts, which are kept with the same care day by day, furnish us with the following notices of what was passing at Goodrich Castle, and serve to shew the style of living of a noble lady at this period.

A pipe of wine bought at Bristol for the Countess, cost 3*l.* : 6 : 8; freightage by boat from thence to Monmouth, 4*s.*; the carriage from thence to Goodrich, with carriage at Bristol and discarriage from the boat, 19*d.*; ullage, 18*d.*, according to agreement. Four pounds of grease bought for the “longa quadriga,” 6*d.* Two *gargons* going to Gloucester to seek for herrings, 6*d.*

On the 2nd of February, being the feast of the Purification, the countess received as her visitors the Lady of Bicknor, the Lady of Raglan, and the Prioress of Acornebi, with many others, and on the Monday the party was increased by Gilbert Earl of Clare and part of his family; the remainder came on Tuesday to breakfast, and the visitors previously mentioned continued their stay at the castle. On Wednesday, the Earl and Countess of Gloucester, as well as the other visitors who are mentioned, and they appear to have prolonged their sojourn until Friday. Men cutting wood are now paid for their labour in Bishop’s Wood (“in nemore episcopi”), a portion of the demesne lying on the opposite



side of the Wye. There is also a charge for a boat bringing four score of fish from Bristol to Stergoil or Chepstow.

We are drawing to the close of the month. Thomas de Berkeley again pays the countess a visit : on this occasion for two days. The alms to the poor are continued from the commencement of the expenditure to the last day accounted for on the roll. The usual number receiving the bounty of the countess was twenty daily. We have now the charge of a coffer purchased to hold the alms.

On the 25th of February, it appears, the Prioress of Acornbury took her departure, as her name no longer occurs on the roll ; and upon this day the countess made her a present of a salmon. A letter was now received from Adamar. The wood-cutting went on in the Doward at the rate of a penny a day to the workman. This picturesque hill still retains its former name. At this period the countess kept twenty-four horses with ten *garçons*. The weekly expenditure varied usually from 6*l.* to 10*l.*, though very often it was more.

Charges now appear on the roll for brewing. Two quarters of malt and two quarters of oats were taken from the stores of the bailiff of Morton, from which were made twelve score and twelve gallons of ale. The expenses of two men brewing the same ale, 4*d.* Another entry of a similar kind has the extra charge of a boy carrying water for it. This ale was of a sufficient degree of strength, being between nine and ten bushels to the hogshead.

During the middle ages fish formed a much more important article of food than it does in the present day, when it is regarded more as a luxury than a common necessary of life ; therefore frequent mention is made of this article. In illustration of its use, nearly every known variety is mentioned as at some time or other having been served up at the Countess of Pembroke's table. Salmon was reputed a dainty in the hall of Goodrich Castle. Half a salmon was sent, on the 15th of March, as a present to Adamar de Valence. We have on these domestic accounts the cost of a *garçon* taking a lamprey to Beatrice de Valentia, 6*d.*; of a lamprey given to John de Hastings, another sent to Thomas de Berkeley, and half a salmon to the Lady of Raglan. There is the expense of a horse going to Abergavenny, seeking for a net to fish in the Wye, 2*d.*; to a certain fisherman of the same place taking fish at Castle Goodrich for the use of my

lady, 1*s.* During the time this fish was in season, half a salmon with four mulvels, in addition to fresh water fish, was the common supply for the daily dinner.

Frequent mention is made of messengers carrying letters sometimes to Pembroke : thus, John de Bendegada, already mentioned, for taking letters of the countess to Pembroke, 12*d.*; sometimes to London, thus, in wages of Thomas de Hampton for eight days going with our lady's letters to London to Adamar de Valentia, 16*d.* Again, letters brought from Adamar to his mother.

Amongst miscellaneous entries are the following : for fifty pounds of candles of Paris, 5*s.* 2*d.*; and in the expense of a horse going to Hereford to seek for the said candles, 1½*d.*; for red trimming for the vestment of my lady, 7*d.*; for two pairs of buskins bought for the use of the lady, 6*d.*; for one pair of boots bought for Edward Burnel, 4*d.*; for one pair of gloves for him, 1*d.*; for three knives and an axe bought for the use of the kitchen; for mending the surdorcer of the "longa quadriga," 1*d.*; for eight pair of traces (*tractarum*) bought for it and for the chariot (*curru*) of the lady, 4*s.* 8*d.*; in carriage of the same from Bampton to Goodrich Castle, 8*d.*; in the wages of a *garçon* coming from Bampton, and carrying the traces to Goodrich Castle; in the wages of Robert of the wardrobe tarrying for seven days at Bristol for the raiment of the countess, to be made at her pleasure against the feast of Pentecost, 4*s.* 2*d.*

It is gathered from the record, that, in addition to the noble persons and others already mentioned as visiting Joanna de Valentia during her prolonged sojourn in the castle of Goodrich, that on Palm Sunday she entertained many of her neighbours. On the following Wednesday the Countess of Gloucester and the whole mue ("tota muta") sallied forth from the castle to hunt in the Doward. We have just heard of the countess despatching her tailor to Bristol to await her new vestments, which were to be in readiness against the approaching season, when she intended filling her castle with guests.

On Saturday, being the vigil of Easter Day, the Lord Adamar returned for the festivities. There were also present John de Hastings, Thomas de Berkley, Roger de Inkpenne, the Lady of Raglan (those who were previously there), and many others who were invited. Rushes were bought to

strew the floors on Easter Sunday, and oblations to the amount of 4*s.* were given for the whole family.

On Thursday in Easter week the Earl of Oxford arrived to dinner, and performed his homage. He had just succeeded to his father's estates, but it does not appear that he held any of them under the earldom of Pembroke. Nor does it appear why the Earl of Oxford should have rendered this service unless there was some infestation in connexion with Dionysia, the wife of his brother Hugh; for upon her death, in 1314, Adamar de Valence was found to be the next heir to her possessions in Essex.

On the Sunday after Easter the Prior of Monmouth came to dinner with some others. They were succeeded immediately by Richard Symond and many more from the county of Pembroke. We now find also John de Hastings, the Prioress of Acornbury, and Dominus John de Barry. As this gentleman resided at Acornbury he was doubtless on intimate terms with the prioress. We know nothing more of him than that he is mentioned on the inquisitions as coming from this place in Herefordshire.

On Wednesday, the 1st of May, a boy was paid a penny for carrying a letter from the Countess of Pembroke to John de Hastings at Abergavenny. This shews that his visit was terminated; and it is more than probable that it was to announce the intended departure of the hospitable countess herself from Goodrich Castle. On Saturday the — of May, being the day after the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, she received John de Tarry and others who came to her from Pembroke. On this day she forwarded a letter to Adamar. On Sunday she entertained Thomas de la Roche and her friend the Prioress of Acornbury. The hospitality of Joanna de Valentia now came to an end, for on the ensuing Wednesday, being the feast of John "ante Portam Latinam," she departed from Goodrich Castle towards London, and lay that night at Morton. The breakfast of the suite cost 2*s.* 3*½d.* the next morning. She now travelled to Cirencester, Fernham, Dorchester, Kingston, Maidenhead, and thus reached London.

On her arrival here she received Adamar and Beatrix with many others. The following entries are made concerning her re-establishment in her own house at Westminster. Two boats taking my lady and family to Westminster and to

her house, 4*d.*; also for four boats carrying the harness from London Bridge to her house. The long journey from Goodrich Castle has brought on an indisposition, and we accordingly have an entry of 3*d.* paid for an electuary for the countess' use. Hay and oats were purchased against her arrival; also a pipe of wine, whilst another item shews that a *garçon* was put into the house for six days to guard it before Joanna de Valentia reached the metropolis.

We have now passed over twenty-two membranes of the roll containing these daily expenses, the nature of which will have been sufficiently apparent from what has been adduced. It will be needless to dwell any longer upon items which recur with the same regularity; I will therefore confine the attention to noticing the names of the personages whom she entertained, and to tracing the line of her subsequent journeys.

On the feast of the Ascension the Prior of Merton and Dominus Henry de Geldeforde dined with her at Merton. From hence she went to Ledrede and Chyngwelde; to Bosgrove, when she received Thomas de Berkeley, Roger de Inkpenne, and Master Giles. From hence to Newton, where these individuals ate at the cost of Adamar de Valentia. She passed on to Basingstoke and Benham. At this latter place the wine was furnished by Adamar. Thus she reached Schwyndon by Whit Sunday. On Trinity Sunday she shewed her customary welcome. On this day we find as her guests Domina de Longespeye, Radulphus de la Stane and his wife, and Nicolas de Carrew. We have no difficulty in making out who these individuals were. Emelina de Longespeye possessed lands in Wiltshire, where she founded a chantry in the 19th of Edward I. Radulphus de la Stane was one of those present at the king's council when judgment was given against Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in regard to his claim of the castle of Bristol. Nicolas de Carrew was one of those who signed the barons' letter to the pope in the parliament of Lincoln (29th Edw. I.), where he is called "Dominus de Mulesford," from possessing this manor in Berkshire. He died in 1312. Thomas de Berkeley also came as a visitor on the 17th June. On the feast of St. Laurence, John Comyn, John de Tany, Thomas de Berkeley, and John de la Ryvers, arrived. On this day Dominus John de Tany was made a knight, and in consequence there were many strangers there.

Up to this date the Countess of Pembroke remained at Swindon Valence,—a manor, like Sutton Valence in Kent, that took its name from this illustrious family; and, belonging to Adamar de Valence, this prolonged residence here of his mother is thus explained.

The total expenditure from the feast of St. Michael to the same day of the following year was 413*l.* : 3 : 3½.

The name of John de Hastings so often appearing on these rolls of domestic expenditure, is so well known that it seems superfluous to enter into the history of his life. His actions are chronicled in the wars of Scotland. Peter of Langtoft and the poet who pourtrayed the siege of Carlaverock have sung his eulogy. He is celebrated as much for his bravery as his prudence, and it is difficult to say whether he was more pre-eminent for his devotion to his country or his loyalty to his sovereign. He was one of the brightest ornaments in the peerage of the time he flourished. As lord of Abergavenny he was in constant intercourse with the Countess of Pembroke whilst she resided at Goodrich Castle. He had married Isabel her daughter. He was the brother-in-law of Adamar; the friend of Edward I. A beautiful effigy of this distinguished man, sculptured in wood, still exists in the church of Abergavenny.

Joanna de Valentia was the daughter of Warine de Munchensi, and eventually the heiress of her brother William. We are at present uninformed as to the precise time of her marriage, but we know that she died in the year 1307. She was then seized of the castles of Goodrich, Pembroke, and Castle Martin; the manors of Tenbury, Coitiff, Sutton Valence, Brabourn, Shrivenham; lands in Berkshire, and castles and manors in Ireland. The castle of Hertford had been granted to her husband in the 35th of Henry III, which will explain the reason of her residence at this place, which is so frequently alluded to in the earlier roll of her domestic accounts. Goodrich Castle, where Joanna de Valentia made so long a sojourn, was granted as early as 1203 to William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke. It continued in the hands of this family till the decease of the last heir, when it reverted to the crown. In 1247 it was granted by Henry III to William de Valence, who assigned it in dower to Joanna, together with Morton, Swindon, Brabourn, and other manors. The history of this interesting military residence will be

given in a work expressly devoted to this branch of architecture, now nearly ready for the press.

But little more remains to be said regarding the Countess of Pembroke. That she lived according to her rank, the illustrations afforded by the extracts furnish sufficient proof. They shew that the circles from which she selected her intimate friends were either those which the Clares and the Berkeleys rendered honourable by their distinguished position, nobles who were living in her neighbourhood, or else she sought out the society of persons who had devoted themselves to a life of monastic seclusion and piety. She was constantly solaced in her widowhood by the visits of Adamar her son, and Isabella de Hastings her daughter; and she seems to have passed those days of her life which these records throw so much light upon, in the exercise of unostentatious hospitality and kindness to the poor.

ON BISHOP LEOFRIK'S LIBRARY.

BY THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC. FOR. CORRESP.

THE library of Exeter Cathedral contains one of the most important monuments—perhaps the most important monument—of the literature of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers now existing. It is a large volume in folio, written apparently in the earlier part of the eleventh century, and containing a collection of the Anglo-Saxon national poetry. Most of the longer and complete poems are of a religious or moral character; but there are two or three pieces which are evidently fragments of the national romances; and, which is the most curious part of the collection, though very difficult to translate, we have in it a considerable number of Anglo-Saxon metrical riddles, a class of composition which was greatly in favour with our ancestors at this early period. The whole text of this volume, which is known among scholars as the *Codex Exoniensis*, or the *Exeter Book*, has been edited, with an English translation,

by one of our most distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholars, Mr. Thorpe.

It was usual, at the time when this volume came into the possession of the church of Exeter, to enter on the leaves, at the beginning and end of church books, deeds of various kinds ; such as gifts of goods or lands, manumissions of serfs, wills, etc., and a considerable number of such entries will be found on the leaves at the beginning of the Exeter Book; from one of which we learn that the book itself was a gift to the church from Bishop Leofric. Leofric was the first bishop of this diocese after the removal of the see from Crediton to Exeter. In fact, it was he who effected the removal of the see. Although the name is Anglo-Saxon, he is said to have been a native of Burgundy, and to have been descended from a noble family in that country.

Introduced, we are not told in what manner, to King Edward the Confessor, he soon became a favourite counsellor of that monarch, who made him his chaplain, and gave him the bishopric of Crediton about the year 1050. It was traditionally reported, as we learn from Godwin, that on his consecration to the new bishopric of Exeter the king took him by the right hand and the queen by the left, and that in this manner they led him to his episcopal throne or chair, and placed him in it. He laboured diligently during a tolerably long episcopacy,—for he died in 1073, after ruling the see of Exeter twenty-three years,—to enrich and improve the see, and the entry in the large book of poetry, just alluded to, is an enumeration of his gifts.

Among these were his library of books, which are enumerated as follows :—“ Two complete mass-books, and one Collectaneum, and two epistle-books, and two complete song-books, and one night song, and one ‘Ad te levavi,’ and one tropary, and two Psalters, and a third as they sing it at Rome, and two hymn-books, and a valuable blessing-book, and the English Christ’s book, and two summer reading-books, and one winter reading-book, and Regula Canonorum, and Martyrologium, and one Canon in Latin, and a shrift-book in English, and one complete sermon book for winter and summer, and Boethius’ book in English, and a great English book on all things composed in verses ; and on his accession, he found in the church no

more but one capitulary, one old worn night-song, one epistle-book, and two old worn reading books in very bad condition, and one worn priest's garment.

"And thus many Latin books he procured for the church: Liber Pastoralis, and Liber Dialogorum, and Libri Quatuor Prophetarum, and Liber Boethii de Consolatione, and Liber Officialis Amalarii, and Isagoge Porphyrii de Dialectica, and one Passionalis, and Liber Prosperi, and Liber Prudentii Psychomachiae, and Liber Prudentii Hymnorum, and Prudentii de Martyribus in one book, and Liber Ezechielis Prophetæ, and Cantica Canticorum, and Liber Isaiae Prophetæ, separately, and Liber Isidori Etymologiarum, and Liber Isidori de Novo et Veteri Testamento, and Liber Isidori de Miraculis Christi and Passione Apostolorum, and Expositio Bedæ super Evangelium Lucæ, and Expositio Bedæ super Apocalypsim, and Expositio Bedæ super septem Epistolas Canonicas and Liber Orosii, and Liber Machabæorum, and Liber Persii, and Sedulius's book, and Liber Aratoris, Liber de Sanetis Patribus, and Glosæ Statii."

My information relating to Leofric is derived chiefly from Godwin de Episcopis Angliæ. If Leofric was really a foreigner, it is very remarkable that he should have collected together so large a proportion of Anglo-Saxon books, and that instead of being, as one of Edward the Confessor's foreign friends, an introducer of foreign manners and principles, we should find him adopting an Anglo-Saxon name, and displaying a taste for Anglo-Saxon literature, and evidently joining in that movement of substituting among the clergy the Anglo-Saxon language for the Latin, which had been going on since the time of the great King Alfred.

The catalogue given above may be considered as that of the private library of an individual of the eleventh century, who was at the same time a scholar and an ecclesiastic, and the number of church service books of different kinds—no less than twenty-four out of fifty-two—is perhaps less the consequence of his latter character, than a proof of his anxiety to supply in his church that want of service books of which he complains so much.

These church books were evidently in Anglo-Saxon, because he contrasts them with the subsequent list of books in Latin. These Latin books consist of theology, of what we may, perhaps, term philosophy, of poetry, and of history.

The theological books consist of portions of the Old Testament, and of the theological writers who were most read among the Anglo-Saxon learned ecclesiastics — such as Gregory, whose *Pastoralis* and *Dialogues* occur in this list, Isidore, and the commentaries of their own Bede. Porphyrius's *Introduction to Dialectics*, was one of the favourite school-books of the age, and it may be remarked, that Leofric possessed the celebrated work of Boethius de *Consolatione Philosophiae*, both in the original Latin text and in an Anglo-Saxon translation, the latter being no doubt the translation ascribed to King Alfred. The *Liber Etymologiarum* of Isidore was also a grand storehouse of learning to the Anglo-Saxon schoolmen.

The poets in Leofric's library were rather numerous, consisting of two of the Roman classic poets, Persius and Statius, for the *Glosæ Stati* probably means the text of Statius with a gloss, and of the earlier Latin Christian poets, Prudentius, Sedulius, Prosper, and Arator. The *Psychomachia*, *Hymns*, and *De Martyribus*, of Prudentius, are described as being contained in one volume. These are all characteristic of a library of an Anglo-Saxon scholar, who read the older Latin poets with avidity, and who set great store on the writings of their first Christian successors, especially Prudentius. Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were great lovers of poetry. The "mycel English boc be ge-hwilecum pingum on leodwisan geworht," or "great English book on all sorts of things composed in verse," is, of course, the now celebrated Codex Exoniensis, or Exeter Book, which is now the only one that remains in the library of Exeter Cathedral, the place where Leofric deposited it, and the one which contains the catalogue of his gifts of which we are speaking. It has sustained some damage from causes which may, perhaps, have destroyed some of its companions ; but I believe that one or two of them are known to exist in other modern collections, and it is likely that part of them may have passed into the Bodleian library with a number of books given by the Dean and Chapter to that establishment. It is remarkable that Leofric possessed only one historical book, the well-known history of the world, by Orosius, which was a very favourite book among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and which King Alfred caused also to be translated into Anglo-Saxon.

This brief notice will give some notion of the character of the earliest catalogue of an English library now known to exist ; it makes us acquainted with the course of reading of an Anglo-Saxon literary man, and thus helps to throw light on the tastes and sentiments of our forefathers eight centuries ago.

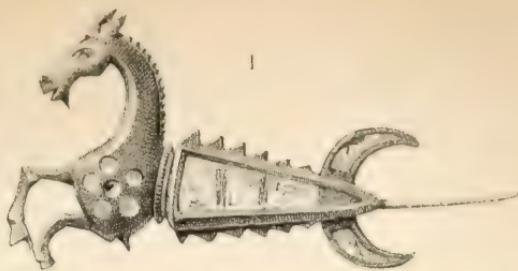
ON ANCIENT FIBULÆ.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

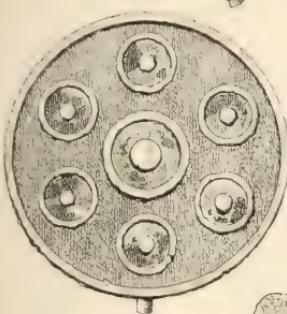
THE trinket makers of the Roman era seem to have indulged in a far wider range of designs for *fibulae* than those of any other period. Beyond the adoption of inanimate forms, beasts, birds, and fishes were carefully copied for brooches, and when the realms of nature were exhausted, the aid of fancy was invoked, and chimeras of all shapes and sizes secured the *palla* and the *chlamys* of the Roman citizens, and citizens of Romanized Gaul, Germany, and Britain. Our *Journal* already contains representations of fibulæ in the shape of a hare (xi, 36), and a bird (xi, 187), and to these we now add a hippocampus of most spirited execution (see pl. 11, fig. 1), whose breast has been decorated with six circles of apple-green enamel, its lunate tail with enamel of similar hue, and its serrated-edged body with alternate bands of green and blue enamel produced by the *mosaic process*, *i.e.*, plates of the vitreous substance laid in the bronze cavity and then fixed by fusion, as in the verge of the circular fibula given in our *Journal* (xvi, 270, fig. 2).

A curious example of *cloissonée enamel* is offered in the circular bronze fibula, fig. 2. No trace of colour can be discerned on the field, which may perhaps have once been gilded, but in the central disc and its six surrounding satellites, there is abundant evidence of the employment of deep red enamel, such as is seen in many brazen ornaments discovered in this country.

The majority of the ancient enameled objects that have been brought to light were produced by the *champ-levé* process already described in our *Journal* (xvi, 271), a fur-



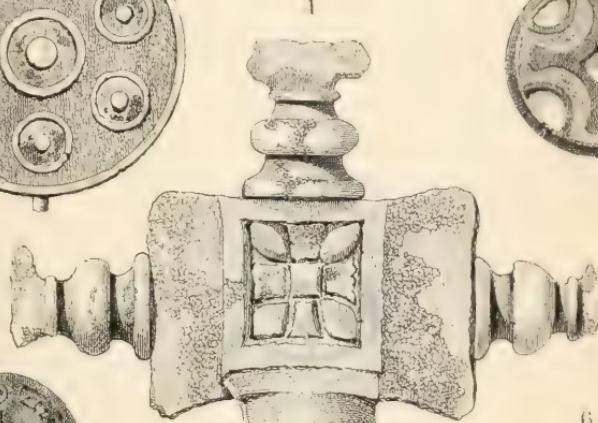
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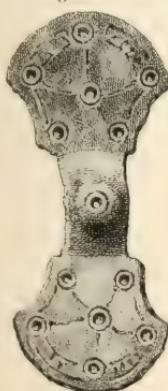
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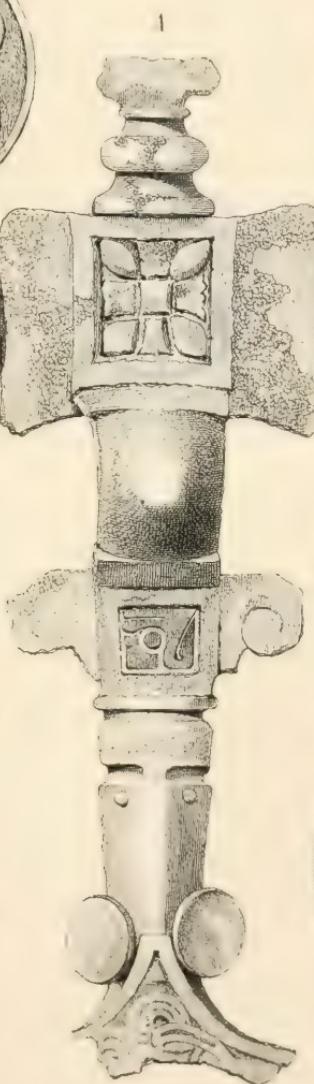
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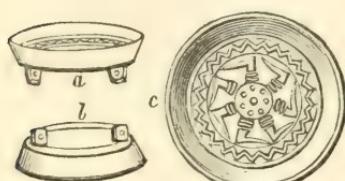


ther example of which is now presented in the fibula, fig. 3. Like the former specimen it is of bronze and circular in form, but the device is of a remarkable character. The cross which it bears is verged with dull red enamel, its centre and the spaces between its limbs having been filled with green enamel. Seven Greek crosses may be seen to deck the head of Spring in the Roman pavement at Cirencester ; a Greek cross forms the centre of the pavement at Harpole, Northamptonshire (see *Journal*, vi, 126), and crosses are found, as is well known, on early Christian lamps and on the reverses of Byzantine coins ; still, so far as I remember, the cross is rarely noticed in Roman fibulæ, and the present specimen must be referred to a very late epoch, so late, indeed, that some have conjectured it to be of Saxon origin. That the latter race did not disdain to profit by the arts and fashions of the former is well exemplified in the noble cruciform brooch represented in fig. 4, wherein we find the adoption of a Roman type, modified according to the taste of the Teutonic craftsman. This interesting object was exhumed in 1819, at Ufford, Suffolk ; and it may be remarked that brooches of allied form, but differing materially in detail, are met with in the counties of Norfolk, Cambridge, Northampton, Lincoln, and York, and also in Denmark. The broad oblong plate which forms a portion of the transverse beam of the cross may be compared with examples in this *Journal* from Northampton (i, 61), York (ii, 311), and Nottingham (iii, 299), and from the bow down to the duck-bill termination, with one discovered at Driffield (ii, 56) here reproduced ; but the decorations are somewhat novel, that on the lower part consisting of *Runic knots*. This specimen is of bronze, measuring five inches in length, but about an inch has been probably broken off from its base.

Another early Anglo-Saxon brooch is delineated in fig. 5, remarkable for both extremities being similar and the bow being placed exactly in the centre of the trinket. It is graven with eyelet-holes, etc., and appears to be a type of some rarity. Its material is bronze, plated with silver.



The large elaborately decorated circular brooches found in such numbers in the districts occupied by the Jutes, *i.e.*, Kent and the Isle of Wight, are seldom seen in other localities; but circular brooches of smaller size and less ornate fabric occur far and wide, and we have now before us examples discovered respectively in the kingdoms of the South and East Saxons. The first (fig. 6) was exhumed at Woking, in Surrey, and is of bronze originally plated with



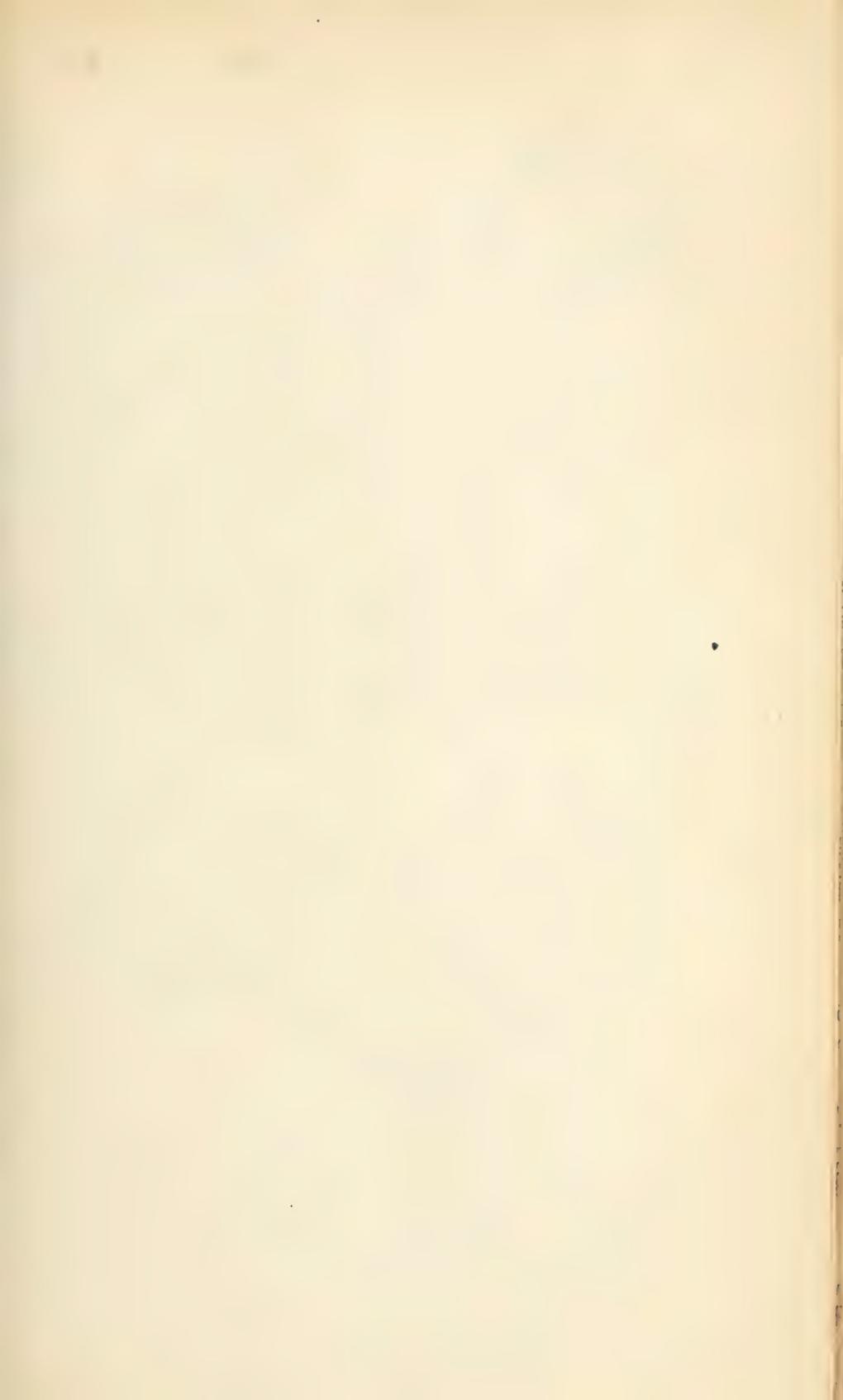
a, The top; *b*, the bottom; *c* internal view.

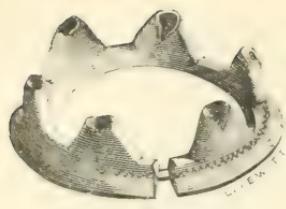
gold, some of which is still adherent in the hollows of its sculptured field. The device on its verge resembles that on the saucer-shaped brooch of the same size found in Gloucestershire engraved in our *Journal* (ii, 54), and which for the sake of com-

parison is here again introduced, and its central embellishment may be likened to that of another Gloucestershire specimen also given in our *Journal* (iv, 53). The second brooch (fig. 7), which has a somewhat Roman aspect, was found at Colchester in 1852, and has for device a cross within a verge, both having punctured decorations.

Long, fierce, and bloody, as was the contest between the Saxon and Danish hosts, the latter seem to have left little to mark their presence in England save the rude money of their princes. We have, however, had the good fortune to engrave a Danish brooch of the eleventh century, found at Oxford (xvi, 274, fig. 2); and have now the satisfaction of adding another referrible to the same people, and dating a century earlier (fig. 8). It is a disc of silver, or the white metal called *findruine* in Ireland, and is incised with a stella-shaped cross; the long, attenuated terminations of its branches wrought into "Runic knots," producing a device at once bold and elegant, familiar to us on Scoto-Scandinavian relics, and one long retained as a decoration on the hilt of the Highland *bidag*.

It is only necessary to add that the fibulæ in the accompanying plate are represented of their full size; that the specimens are all in the possession of our associate, Mr. W. H. Forman; and, with exception of fig. 1, were formerly the property of Mr. Whincopp of Woodbridge, Suffolk.

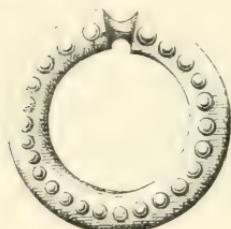




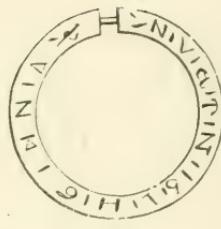
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2.



3.



4.



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7.



8.



9.



10.

ON THE NORMAN FERMAIL.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

ON former occasions our attention has been directed to the Roman fibula and Teutonic Brooch, and it is now proposed to offer a few remarks upon the *Norman Femail*. The archetype of this simple fastening seems to exist in the ring and pin brooches of a previous age, but the transition from the round wire hoop to the flat circlet, and long *acus* to the short tongue, must have been sudden and abrupt, as no medial link has hitherto been met with to connect these widely separated types together.¹ In 1852, there was found at Maidstone, a curious brooch of bronze, the ring of which has six conic collets rising from its front, once set but now *sine gemmis*; and in 1854, another of bronze was exhumed in Ratcliff Highway, which has ten projecting collets, the settings of which are also lost. Both these trinkets have been pronounced Roman by some, and Saxon by others, but they may truly be regarded as belonging to the Norman era, and I have therefore selected them as early examples of the jeweled femail (see Pl. 12, figs. 1 and 2). A femail decked with gems, closes the bosom of the tunic of the king's statue on the front of Wells cathedral,² and a still richer one is shewn on the monumental effigy of Berengaria, queen of Richard I. in the abbey of L'Espan, the metal circle seemingly wrought with leaflets, and set with ten round jewels. A gold ring-buckle in the British Museum, found in London, adorned with garnets and knobs alternating with quatrefoils; and the famous Glenlyon brooch of silver, with its groups of high conic collets, may be cited as further and later examples of jeweled fermails.

The above costly trinkets appertained to the prince and the patrician, the humbler ranks were necessarily content with metal fermails, either plain or engraved with a slight design, or with mystic words, which served at once for ornament and talisman. I exhibit a very early example of

¹ Examples of ring and pin brooches are given in this *Journal*, ii, 333; v, 118.

² See *Journal*, xiii, 17.

bronze, one inch and one-sixteenth in diameter, the frame, three-sixteenths of an inch wide, being stamped with twenty-five circlets, in imitation probably of the round collets of the jeweled fermails. A portion of the frame is cut away to form a pivot for the *mourdant* or tongue, in a similar way to the Maidstone specimen (see fig. 3.)

A charact fermail of brass, exhumed in Fenchurch Street in 1833, apparently reading XOMA MINAMI INACIN, has been described,¹ and Mr. C. Ainslie produces another of brass, recovered from the Thames, which bears an equally obscure legend—HECEI. EODEL. EOD, the words being divided by a sort of arrow-head. A third example of these talismanic buckles is now delineated in fig. 4. It is of silver, weighing two pennyweights, and was discovered at Lewisham.

The fermail makers of the fourteenth century did not confine themselves to unintelligible words, but adopted mottos and legends of an amatory and religious turn, of the first of which the following may serve as examples. In the British Museum are two charact fermails, one of brass inscribed—VT. ODIT. ME. AMICA; the other of lead with—AMOR. VINCIT. OMNIA—a formula rendered familiar to us by Chaucer's account of the prioress,² who wears—

—— a broche of gold ful shene,
On whiche was first y-written a crouned A,
And after—*Amor Vincet Omnia*.

The crowned A brings to mind a silver-gilt buckle found in Dorsetshire, representing the first letter of the alphabet, and engraved on its front with the words—IO FAS AMER E DOZ DE AMER, and on the back with—A. G. L. A. (see fig. 5). But to return to the ring-formed fermail. One of gold found at Writtle, Essex,³ gives us this rhyming motto, one line being on either side—

IEO . SVI . FERMAIL . PVR . GARDER SEIN.
KE NVS VILEIN N'I METTE MEIN.

A little gold fermail found at Brandish, Suffolk, is inscribed—

QVI . CA . MENVEIA . IA.
DAMOR NETRICERA.

And one of the same precious material, weighing twenty-

¹ Journal, iii, 54.

² Canterbury Tales, i, 160.

³ Journal, iii, 125.

eight grains, discovered at Stowmarket, and now in the possession of Mr. Warren, has the words—IE . SVI . DI . ENLIV . DAMI . Representations of both these specimens appear in figs. 6 and 7.

The majority of legends on fermails of the fourteenth century, are, however, of a strictly religious character, allusions to the Virgin and Saviour being the most prevalent. In the *Gent. Mag.*, Aug. 1793, p. 696, is a pretty little example of gold, weighing two pennyweights, on one side of the mourdant of which is a crowned II, on the other an A; the flat hoop bearing on its face the angelic salutation—AVE MARIA GRACIA, and on its reverse—PLENA DOMINVS. And the late Mr. Crofton Croker had a small fermail of silver-gilt, on one side of which is engraved—AVE MARIA GA, and on the other—IESVS NAZARENVS, the last three letters of the second word being on the tongue. An exceedingly curious fermail, found in Upton Churchyard, Berkshire, is in the possession of Mr. Hughes, and now brought before us by Mr. G. A. Cape. It is of latten, one inch and a half in diameter, the frame, quarter of an inch wide, sculptured with the commencing words of a hymn to the Virgin Mary—AVE X REG'NA X CELORVM X AVE X DOMINA.

The sunk portion of the metal between the letters on this buckle is covered with *niello*, and a hole is cut through the frame to admit the loop of the tongue, which worked upon the outer verge in a mode differing from all the other specimens adduced (see fig. 8). A silver fermail of rather earlier date than the last was found some years since in the neighbourhood of Abingdon (fig. 9). It reads IESVS NAZARENVS, which is one of the most common legends met with on buckles of this period. A latten fermail of the close of the fourteenth century, found near Hyde Abbey, Winchester, bearing the words—IESVS NAZARENVS REX, has been engraved;¹ and another of the same metal, of the commencement of the fifteenth century, discovered at Driffield, Yorkshire, bearing a like formula, but somewhat abbreviated, is delineated (fig. 10). In the Museum of Scottish Antiquaries, at Edinburgh, are two silver fermails, one octagonal, inscribed—IESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM; the other having a legend on either side, thus—IESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM—AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA

¹ Journal, xvii, 322.

DOMINA. The great Glenlyon fermail, before mentioned, presents a different formula to any hitherto cited; for on its reverse is sculptured the names of the Three Kings of Cologne — CASPAR. MELCHIOR. BALTAZAR. CONSVMATVM. These potent names were believed, in the middle ages, to possess talismanic virtue, and are found inscribed on finger-rings, stamped on leathern garters, and written on plaques and parchment to be worn about the person as amulets to divert evil and bring good luck,¹ which explains their presence on the Glenlyon trinket.²

The Norman fermail seems to have found its way into North Britain at an early period, and has maintained its place as a portion of Highland equipment to the present hour. The form it took among the Scottish Gaels is well exemplified by three examples now exhibited from the collection of Mr. Forman. The first has every appearance of being of considerable age. It is of rude fabric, the frame, three inches in diameter, being hammered out of a brass rod, the ends overlapping each other and held together by the loop of the iron tongue. The front is engraved with a chevron of eleven points, a species of decoration as old as the *Bronze Period*. The second specimen is of silver, one inch and a quarter in diameter, the front engraved with four discs, three bearing cross crosslets, the field between the discs occupied by trefoils within triangles, the whole of these incised adornments being filled with niello. On the back is scratched 1M°K. The third buckle is also of silver, three inches and three quarters in diameter, its incised and nielloed front closely resembling one given in Logan's "*Scottish Gael*". On it are four discs arranged as in the preceding example but differently filled. That in which the pin moves is decked with a meander, those on either side are chequered, and that on which its point rests seems to bear the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George placed on a star, and, if so, the date of the trinket must be subsequent to the year 1606, when the *Union Jack* was adopted by royal ordinance; but one well-skilled in heraldic matters pronounces these cross-lines to be a mere arbitrary device without reference to the national flag. Between the discs are trefoils in triangles, accompanied by

¹ See Pettigrew *On Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, p. 58.

² This brooch is given in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 220.

scrolls. The stout silver pin has a spear-shaped point, and its front is embellished with the ancient chevron.

Reverting to the fermail of South Britain, we gather from the notices and specimens produced, that the jeweled trinket is of considerable rarity. That the unset metal circle was at first of small diameter and narrow frame, either plain or decorated with simple designs, to which were subsequently added mystic words and letters. As the fermail increased in size, and width of surface, amatory mottos took the place of occult legends; and as time wore on, and greater breadth was given, religious formulæ almost entirely supplanted the talismanic and loving inscriptions of an earlier age—the fermail reaching its full development at the end of the fourteenth century, soon after which it vanished from England for upwards of four hundred years, continuing however to dwell among the hardy mountaineers of Scotland, from whom, in the days of Queen Victoria, it once more, with some slight modification, is adopted as the fastening for the shawl and plaid, proving how pertinaciously we cling to old fashions, and how enduring is our attachment to the Norman fermail.

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(Continued from p. 186.)

FRIDAY, AUG. 23.

THE president accompanied by a large body of the associates and visitors took their departure from Exeter for the day's excursion, and arrived at Tiverton, where they were met by the Rev. J. B. Hughes, M.A., Dr. G. A. Paterson, and others, and conducted to the Town Hall, in which it was proposed to read the papers prior to making examination of the church and castle. On their road, Greenway's Almshouses in Gold Street, founded in 1529, and the little chapel thereto attached, were inspected. At the Town Hall the chair having been taken by Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., the Rev. J. B. Hughes read the following paper

ON ST. PETER'S CHURCH, TIVERTON.

In complying with my friend Col. Harding's request that I would prepare a description of our parish church, I am fully sensible of the privilege he has awarded to me in giving me an opportunity of addressing the members of so distinguished a society as that which has done us the honour of selecting the ancient borough of Tiverton for a visit, and to which borough, in the name of my fellow townsmen, I bid you, Mr. President, and you, ladies and gentlemen, most hearty welcome. I fear that the remarks I have to submit to your notice are not likely to be of a particularly interesting character, but at the same time, I venture to hope that they will not prove altogether devoid of interest, and that they will serve to illustrate an observation which has been often made by archæologists, that while local traditions are not altogether to be relied on, there is generally a certain amount of truth at the bottom of the legendary well, which is useful in the investigation of the subject with which it is connected.

The Rectory of Tiverton is divided into four portions of Pelt, Clare, Tidecombe, and Prior. This ancient division has occasioned the church to be regarded as collegiate. It is so designated by Bishop Brones-

combe,¹ and as such is mentioned by Tanner in his *Notitia*; but it is not strictly entitled to that character. Instances of the apportionment of parochial tithes between several rectors of the same church, though not of frequent occurrence, are to be found in the reports and text-books of common law; and though a rectory is now regarded as an entire thing, incapable of division or tenure in common, a different state of things may have been the result of some partition of the rectorial obligations and revenues under the proper authorities.

At what time the division of this rectory took place has never been accurately stated. All our local historians are, I think, at fault in this matter. I have reason to believe it was made between the years 1146 and 1159. At the former date Baldwin de Redvers granted "totam ecclesiam de Tivertonâ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis" to the priory of St. James, near Exeter. In the year 1159, Richard, Earl of Devon, in the agreement between himself and that priory,² states that he gives in perpetuity "medietas ecclesiæ de Tivertonâ pro diviso....Monasterio Sancti Jacobi." It appears from the deed that some difference had arisen between the Earl and this priory, probably respecting this very division of the rectory, "Controversia," he says, "quæ diu inter me et monachos de Sancto Jacobo super Ecclesiâ de Tivertonâ ventilata est, in perpetuum sopita est." On the settlement of this difference, he grants "medietas," a moiety of the church "pro diviso." It is therefore patent that the rectory was an entirety in 1146, but had been divided at the date of this agreement, 1159, just thirteen years afterwards. We have evidence also that the prior was not in possession of the entire benefice in 1258, since we find that on the 11th of April in that year, John de la Lane was admitted by Bishop Brionescombe to the vacant prebend of Tiverton which had been held by William de Plimpton, on the presentation of Amicia, Countess of Devon; the patronage continued to be exercised by Amicia, her daughter Isabella de Fortibus, and subsequently by the Courtenays with some partial interruptions during the Wars of the Roses, until the attainder of Henry Marquis of Exeter in 1539.

The parish church, dedicated to St. Peter, stands on a bold elevation above the river Exe. It consists of a tower ninety-nine feet high, a nave with north and south aisles, Greenway's chapel, an organ chamber, vestry, south-west porch, and west, south-east, and north doorways. Its entire length is one hundred and forty-seven feet nine inches. With the exception of the tower, Greenway's chapel, part of the south wall and the chancel arches, it has been lately rebuilt, under the able superintendence of Mr. Ashworth, architect, of Exeter. While the inhabitants cannot fail to rejoice in the restoration of their ancient place of worship, and, from having themselves contributed to the re-edification, to feel a

¹ Register, fol. 28.

² The deed is in the archives of King's Coll., Cambridge.

justifiable pride in contemplating the noble building as a whole, the ancient portions must necessarily possess the greatest amount of interest in the eyes of the antiquary and archaeologist. To these portions of the church I will, therefore, call your attention.

The tower is one of the most beautiful in the west of England, both from the simplicity of its construction, and the correctness of its proportions. It dates from the early part of the fifteenth century. It is square, in four stages, with two buttresses at each angle set square, all of four stages, grotesque figures ornamenting the set-offs. The parapet is embattled, from which rise eight pinnacles. The string-courses at each stage run round the buttresses. The belfry windows in each face are of two lights, divided by transoms. The west window is particularly good, it has four lights—the mouldings being unusually deep and effective. The tower arch is lofty and panelled. On either side of the west doorway there is a broad shallow niche. The tower is constructed of the red stone of the neighbourhood, the dressings being of Ham-Hill stone. And here, as also at Blundell's school, the truth of the late Professor Buckland's remark, that "Ham-Hill stone is superior to any with which he was acquainted for building purposes," is strikingly exemplified. While the Bath and Beer stone in every portion of the old church had decayed, and in many cases crumbled to powder, not a particle of the Ham-Hill stone had failed in any part.

Let us now turn to Greenway's monumental chapel, the porch, and south wall of the church, which were erected by John Greenway, a merchant of Tiverton, in 1517. The surface of the walls, the buttresses, the pierced and embattled parapet of three heights, are covered with lavish decorations, consisting chiefly of ships, woolpacks, staple-marks, figures of men, children, horses, inscriptions, the merchant-adventurers', and the drapers' coats of arms. On the corbel line which runs round the whole of the chapel, are represented in high relief, twenty of the principal events in the life of our Saviour, commencing with the flight into Egypt, and ending with the ascension. These figures are minute and well carved, as no doubt were all the ornaments of the chapel, but unfortunately they were restored by unskilful hands some thirty years ago. Although the whole of this part of the church is of a most debased style of architecture, the ornamentation is valuable and interesting as a most elaborate example of the style which prevailed when the perpendicular had degenerated in a meretricious desire for decorations which prevailed at the close of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century. Over the inner doorway of the porch is an Adoration of the Virgin, John Greenway and his wife kneeling at faldstools on either side. This has not been touched by the chisel of the restorer and retains its point and freshness.

The chapel was formerly separated from the south aisle by a beautiful

stone screen, which, with the exception of the lower member, was destroyed by the execrable taste of some public spirited churchwarden about thirty years ago. The fragments are now in the possession of the Earl of Devon, at Powderham. Under the centre of the chapel, on a stone which covers the vault, are two large brasses of the founder and his wife. At the edges were formerly bands of brass, on which was engraved "of your charitie prey for the souls of John and Joan Greenway his wife which died 1529, and for their faders and moders, and for their friends and their lovers. On them Jesu have mercie. Amen. Of your charitie say Pater Noster and Ave." The present roof of the south aisle is an exact copy, as regards the construction, of that erected by Greenway, when he widened and rebuilt this aisle, the colour, of which some portions remained on the old roof, has not been restored.

The chancel arch is four centred, panelling in three foliated arches. On each side below the spring of the arch, are two figures of angels supporting shields charged with the Courtenay arms within the garter, over which are the eagle and bundle of sticks which so frequently appear in this church in conjunction with the arms of the Courtenays. Lord Devon informs me the meaning of this device is not known. There was formerly a richly carved rood-screen extending across the whole breadth of the church. A fragment of this remained when the church was rebuilt, but as it was greatly decayed, and as we found it could not be restored without incurring an expense which we were not prepared to meet, it was, with the exception of the lower portion, removed. For this I hope we shall stand excused even in the eye of an antiquary. The part which is left is in excellent preservation, and forms a sufficient line of demarcation between the nave and chancel. At the south of the chancel is a good altar tomb to the memory of John Waldron, who died 1579; and on the north another to George Slee, 1613, who were merchants of Tiverton. They erected almshouses in Tiverton, and were great benefactors to the poor of the parish.

Local tradition asserts (1) that a Norman church formerly occupied the site of the present chancel, and that it was built by Leofric, first bishop of Exeter, 1173; (2) that this church was replaced at the end of the fourteenth century by a larger building consisting of a nave, two aisles—each thirteen feet wide, and a chancel; (3) that the tower was afterwards added to this church, and that Greenway pulled down the south aisle, and increased its width from thirteen to twenty-two feet; (4) that a chapel of the Courtenays stood on the spot now occupied by the vestry. In rebuilding the church we found that these statements were in the main correct. (1) The Norman doorway which we replaced in the north wall, in the position we found it, tells of a Norman church, though its chevron ornament is of a somewhat later date than 1173. (2 and 3) We found that the tower had been erected against a more

ancient wall, a portion of which, easing the buttresses of the tower in the interior of the church remained, together with mural paintings, consisting of flowers and foliage. Similar paintings were brought to light on removing the incrustations of whitewash, in the original north aisle, which was exactly thirteen feet wide. The plinth moulding which we found under part of the existing south aisle extended also thirteen feet from the nave, and was of early Perpendicular character. This, I am led to conclude, must be part of the church which Bishop Stafford, in a letter from Clyst, addressed to the Archdeacon of Exeter, September 6, 1412, speaks of as being grossly neglected, and which he required to be forthwith repaired. Walter Robert, rector of Tidcombe portion, about the same date, in his will, bequeaths twenty shillings "ad reparationem ecclesiae Tivertonæ," and Bishop Stafford, May 16, 1416, granted an indulgence of forty days to all who should contribute towards the same object. On this no doubt the church was repaired and the tower built.

(4) On removing the vestry, we came upon the foundation of an ancient building; under the floor were a large number of encaustic tiles, marked with a cross in yellow enamel; the more modern walls of the church were built round those of the ancient structure and marks of a pointed roof were plainly traceable. We also found a silver ornament under the floor which had the appearance of being part of some of the decorations of the altar. This, then, I think we may conclude was the Courtenay chapel, so frequently mentioned in the histories of Tiverton, which chapel is first mentioned in the diocesan registers March 22, 1329, when John de Tiebull is stated to be "Capellanus Capellæ domini Hugonis de Courtenay apud Tivertonæ ecclesiam." This chapel was demolished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

I have not yet done with local traditions. In the south aisle are four pews claimed by Sir Walter Palk Carew, Bart., as owner of Tiverton castle, which was formerly the residence of the earls of Devon. It was supposed that these pews had been placed on the site of one of the chapels occupied by the earls of Devon which is mentioned in the will of Katherine, Countess of Devon, youngest daughter of Edward IV, and this supposition was corroborated when we repaved and floored this part of the church; for under the pews there was an ancient floor composed of encaustic tiles, exactly similar to those found under the vestry, of which I have just now spoken. It is worthy of remark, that the under face of these tiles was pierced with a number of holes to counteract the contraction which would otherwise have been caused during the process of burning, for which *invention* a patent was taken out not very many years ago.

On digging for the foundations of the present north aisle, which we extended to the same width as the south, and to which we added an organ chamber, to correspond with Greenway's chapel, and to enable us to re-

move the organ from the tower arch, which it had with its gallery entirely blocked up, we found two curious lead coffins; one, an oblong case, which had contained a shell of wood; the other appeared to be of great antiquity. The body had been simply enclosed in lead, which was pressed to the shape, and soldered. The skeletons were entire, except the heads. No ornament of any kind was in or around them; they were lying east and west. A few fragments of stained glass were dotted about various parts of the windows of the north aisle. The old font now forms a receptacle for the water discharged from the roof of the castle lodge.

In a library which was bequeathed to the church by the Rev. John Newte, 1715, is preserved a MS. of some value and interest. It contains the service of the Virgin, part of the Calendar of John Somour, Preces, and the autograph of William of Worcester, who was one of the earliest and most celebrated literary antiquaries. The MS. is of the early part of the fifteenth century.

This is, I believe, although imperfect, yet as correct an account as we can now gather of the antiquities of, and connected with, Tiverton church. Such as it is, I have felt great pleasure in preparing it for this meeting, and only regret that the task had not been entrusted to more able hands.

Upon the conclusion of this paper Dr. Paterson read the following

ON TIVERTON CASTLE.

It is stated in our local histories, that Tiverton Castle was built in the year 1106 by Richard Rivers, Earl of Devonshire, to whom the manor and lordship had been given by King Henry I. It is also recorded to have been the first dwelling in the town that was built of stone and had glazed windows. It is questionable, however, if any portions of the existing remains are of earlier date than the fourteenth century.

The first lords of the castle were the family of De Ripariis, Redvers, or Rivers, who were created earls of Devonshire by Henry I. It continued to be held by successive earls of the same family for a period of one hundred and ninety-two years, when the direct line became extinct in the persons of Isabella Rivers and her daughter Avelina. The former (who was Countess of Devonshire in her own right and wife of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle and Holderness) is still remembered in connexion with the "Countess Wear," near Exeter, which was erected by her for the benefit of her mills upon the river Exe, and it is a question whether it is to her or her mother Amicia that the inhabitants of Tiverton are indebted for the gift of the Town Leat, a stream of pure running water which flows through the streets: a boon still enjoyed and highly valued by them, and capable, by the applications of modern science, of being rendered much more conducive than it is to the

health and domestic convenience of the very poorest among them. Her daughter and heiress Avelina, became the wife of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, second son of Henry III, but died without issue in the year 1274, on which the inheritance of the earls of Devonshire (including the lordship and castle of Tiverton) devolved upon her kinsman, Hugh de Courtenay, whose ancestor had married a daughter of William de Redvers, a former earl. In the possession of this distinguished family it continued for two hundred and sixty years, but not without more than one temporary alienation, owing to the unsettled state of public affairs during this period.

The Courtenays were staunch adherents of the Lancastrian cause, the fifth earl of that name having married a granddaughter of John of Gaunt, and on its behalf several succeeding members of the family suffered both in life and possessions.

At length, on the accession of Henry VII, they were restored to their title and estates; but the first branch of the house being extinct, they were revived in the person of Edward Courtenay, a descendant of the second earl of this family. Their troubles, however, were not now ended. Edward Courtenay's son and successor, William, incurred the jealousy of the reigning house by marrying the Princess Katherine, youngest daughter of Edward IV, but was restored to favour on the accession of Henry VIII, and his widow continued to make Tiverton Castle her principal residence for sixteen years, until her death in the year 1527; maintaining there a state and dignity becoming one who styled herself (as it runs in the inscription surrounding a seal of hers that has come down to us) the "daughter, sister, and aunt of kings." Their son Henry became Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, and for a time stood high in the favour of his cousin, Henry VIII, who, before his departure for France, declared him next heir to the crown. But before many years he incurred the displeasure and suspicion of the king, and was beheaded in 1539. His son, Edward Courtenay, though only thirteen years of age, was thereupon, with his mother, committed to close confinement in the Tower, where he remained until the accession of Mary, who restored him to his titles and estates, and, it is said, would have married him, much to the satisfaction of her subjects, but that he evinced a preference for her sister Elizabeth, which again caused his committal to the Tower and his ultimate expatriation. He died abroad, childless, and the castle and manor of Tiverton passed to the descendants of the four co-heiresses of Edward Earl of Devonshire, his great grandfather.

The family of Courtenay thus ceased to have any direct connexion with their ancient residence. After various changes of ownership which it is unnecessary to trace, the castle, with the greater part of the ancient manor of Tiverton, became in 1727 the property of Sir Thomas Carew, Bart., of Haccombe, in whose family it still continues.

After it had passed out of the possession of the house of Courtenay, the most important event in the history of Tiverton Castle, and which, no doubt, largely contributed to the ruinous condition in which we now find it, was its capture and occupation, during the civil wars, by the Parliamentarian forces. From 1643 to 1645 it had been held for the king, being one of four garrisons maintained by him in Devonshire, and regarded by both sides as a place of great importance to the royal cause. But soon after Fairfax's appointment in 1645 to the command of the Parliamentarian army, that energetic general proceeded to attempt its reduction, "in regard (as we are told), it lay upon a pass, and might much annoy the army to leave it behind them unreduced, or, at least, unblocked up, and if once taken might be a magazine and place of strength and convenience, either to secure anything in, or to retreat unto upon occasion."

Accordingly, about the middle of October, he marched from Chard with about six thousand men by way of Axminster, Honiton, Bradninch, and Collumpton, and on the eighteenth of that month batteries were erected against the church and castle. On the next day (Sunday) an attack by storm was determined upon, but "whilst the officers were in debate at the schoolhouse about the manner of the storm, which was that afterwards to be executed, the cannon, which had been playing hard against the works and castle, broke the chain of the drawbridge in two with a round shot, whereupon the bridge fell down across the moat, and the soldiers immediately, without waiting for orders, seized the bridge, entered the works, and took possession of the churchyard, which so terrified the enemy, that they quitted their cannon and instantly fled into the church and castle. The soldiers pursued them into both places, when they cried out in a lamentable manner for quarter, and surrendered themselves prisoners." On receipt of the news, "this great blessing of God's delivering into the hands of the Parliament Tiverton and the castle," was ordered by the house to be specially remembered in their public thanksgivings.

There has been some conjecture as to the site on which the batteries against the castle were erected on this occasion. A common opinion, for which, however, I am aware of no grounds, except the fact of some cannon balls and other articles having been found there imbedded in the earth, is, that it was on Shillands, a rising ground opposite to the castle on the other side of the river Exe, now occupied by the Roman Catholic Chapel, and the house and grounds of Broomfield. But I quite agree with Colonel Harding (who, in his *History of Tiverton*, has entered fully into the question) in rejecting this view and considering it as much more probable that the site of the batteries was at Skrinkhills, an eminence near Collipriest, to the south side of the church and castle. In selecting the former locality, the general would have had to go out of his way to cross the Exe and place the river between himself and the

castle, at the same time that he would have been attacking it on its steepest and most inaccessible side. Whereas Skrinkhills lay directly on his road from Collumpton and Bradninch, and commanded the church and castle, both of which we are told were objects of attack, the besiegers first of all possessing themselves of the churchyard. Nor could there have been any drawbridge on the west side opposite to Shil-lands, while the batteries on Skrinkhills would readily command the great moat and drawbridge in front of the castle. If also it be true, as tradition states, that the general conducting the siege made his head-quarters at Blundell's School, this circumstance would lend further probability to the site having been on Skrinkhills.

We may now proceed to describe the existing remains. Although much broken down and defaced, an inspection of them will sufficiently corroborate Dunsford's statement, in his *History of Tiverton*, that the castle was at some past period a range of buildings nearly quadrangular, enclosing an area of about an acre, and having a round tower at the south-east, north-east, and north-west angles, and a square one at the south-west. The entrance was a great gateway under a large square tower projecting from the centre of the east front, and there appears to have been a square tower or bastion somewhat corresponding to it, jutting out in like manner from the centre of the wall towards the west. The western wall was built on a steep acclivity rising to about sixty feet from the river Exe, which formed a natural defence upon that side. On the north the ground was also high and broken, but probably strengthened by mounds and defensive outworks, of which some remains may still be traced. On the south, separating it from the churchyard, was a moat crossed by a drawbridge. The east front was in like manner defended by a wide moat, and a drawbridge opposite to the principal entrance. It is now filled up and traversed by the new road leading to Bolham and Dulverton. One of the streets of the town, running parallel with the eastern wall of the castle at the distance of eighty or one hundred yards, now bears the name of "Frog Street," possibly in commemoration of the musical denizens of this moat, and the road outside the churchyard wall on the east is called "The Works," a name which it no doubt derives from having been the site of some of the external defences of the castle.

Of the north side of the castle, including the tower at the north-east angle, we have few or no traces, owing, in all probability, to the circumstance that a modern house has been built upon it contiguous to the castle, and, in a great measure, out of the old materials, and the gardens and garden walls have also been laid out on that side. Dunsford says, but on what authority I know not, that the apartments towards the north wall, now destroyed, were probably among the best in the castle.

On the west, overlooking the steep bank above the river, we have

merely the lower portion of the external wall, forming a garden terrace walk, and leaving distinctly traceable the exterior outlines of the castle on that side. Whether there ever was more upon the western side than a high defensive wall with strong buttresses and a central bastion tower we have no evidence. I am inclined to think that there was not. The central bastion, however, presents some features of interest. In the thickness of its wall at the south-east corner is a regularly built oblong shaft about two feet in diameter, which communicates with a chamber below. Access can be obtained to this chamber from the outside by means of a semicircular arched opening, just large enough for a man to crawl through, situated at the base of the bastion wall and somewhat southward of its centre. Several persons now living have entered the chamber by that way, and describe it as a lofty apartment, at the further end of which were three rude archways blocked up with rubbish. They were believed to be the openings of subterraneous passages leading under the courtyard towards the towers at the north-east, south-east, and south-west angles. One man informs me that he actually penetrated some way in the direction of the south-east tower, until stopped by rubbish that had fallen in; and a few years ago an excavation was made in the lawn, about ten feet inwards from the bastion, which exposed the remains of a vaulted way apparently branching in two of these directions, but the quantity of rubbish deterred them from exploring further—from all which it would appear, that there were underground communications leading from different parts of the castle to an outlet or sally-port in the west wall over the precipitous bank of the river. The apartment in the basement of the bastion was probably a guard chamber or place of rendezvous, and the shaft, designed for purposes of ventilation or communication with the defenders of the castle above.

We now pass to the remains of walls and buildings still standing on the east and south sides, in describing which it will be convenient to begin with the east front. It appears to have consisted of a central gateway tower, to which were joined two wings or lateral buildings, and these again were connected with the two towers at the angles by a wall or range of buildings, which recedes a few feet from the frontage of the rest. Of the northern of these wings a fragment only, with a broken embattled parapet and buttress, remains, adjacent to the central tower. In its upper story is an apartment with square mullioned windows to the front and back. On the ground floor is a similar apartment, now used as the kitchen of the modern manor house. The southern of the two wings appears to be entire, at least if we may judge by a sort of gable end (the gable form being a modern interpolation) facing to the south, with a square window of a single light in its upper story. The exterior of this wing, with the range of building which connects it with the south-east tower, has been greatly overlaid with modern additions, for

the purpose of making it available as the farmhouse of the Castle Barton; and its ancient apartments, as well as those in the central tower, large, airy, and cheerful rooms, but with nothing very noticeable in their interior, are now in use by the farmer and his family. The central tower consists of a double Gothic gateway or gatehouse leading through to the inner court, over which were two apartments, one above the other, lighted in front with square mullioned windows of three lights, the whole terminating in machicolations and a battlemented parapet. Owing to its ruinous and very dangerous condition, the uppermost of these stories had to be taken down some years ago. At the north-west corner is a small hexagonal turret, also ruinous and lowered in height of late years, containing a newel staircase. This turret was popularly called "the Earl of Devonshire's Chair," and being higher than the rest of the castle would probably serve as a look-out, besides giving access to the upper apartments of the tower. The great entrance of the castle is in the central tower, through a lofty and handsome pointed archway of freestone, the mouldings of which are carved with Tudor ornaments. It leads into a passage or gatehouse, which is divided into two equal compartments or chambers by a four-centred archway, with plain mouldings constructed of redstone found in the neighbourhood. The outer of these compartments is groined with ribs springing from engaged shafts in the four corners, and converging in a large boss carved with a Tudor flower. On either side in the depth of the walls, which are not less than five feet thick, is a small trefoil-headed opening or window, splayed inwardly. The inner compartment is divided into two groined bays, springing from circular engaged shafts of redstone at the sides and angles, and converging in bosses of foliage deeply carved in the same stone. This stonework appears of more ancient date than that of the exterior portion of the gateway. It opens upon the inner court of the castle, through an arch of the same general characters as that which divided the two compartments, the sides of which are of the redstone, and the portion above the spring of the arch of freestone. On either side of this arch, looking from the courtyard, are two acutely pointed doorways, which appear to have led to the apartments in the lateral wings.

Proceeding next towards the south side of the castle, we commence with the tower at the south-east angle. It is of a circular shape, and appears to be nearly of its original height, thickly overgrown with ivy. The buildings of the eastern and southern sides of the castle join it at right angles, leaving one segment of its circumference visible from the exterior, and the other from the courtyard. On the exterior aspect are the remains of square-headed windows, giving light to the apartments on the different floors; also three strongly-built projecting buttresses at the base. On the side towards the court, besides window openings,

are also doorways at different heights, from which the upper stories were reached. The entrance to the ground floor (now used as a dairy) is from the present kitchen of the farmhouse through an old pointed archway. It is an apartment occupying the whole interior of the tower, about twelve feet in diameter, has two windows looking south and east, and an ancient square-headed fireplace with chamfered edges.

The first floor is reached from the courtyard of the castle by an external flight of twelve steps, which leads up to a rough four-centred entrance arch flanked by a square window, the original ironwork of which is remaining. It consists of an apartment the size of that below, which, in addition to the window just mentioned, was lighted towards the south-east by a square mullioned window of three lights. On the west side of the apartment are the remains of a small arched doorway, which probably communicated with the defences of the southern drawbridge, and also, it is said, with an underground covered way which led to the middle of the Fore Street, and was sufficiently large for two men to walk abreast. The course of this way was unknown in 1790 when Dunsford wrote his *History of Tiverton*, and several attempts to discover it have failed. Above the central story of the tower is another, access to which appears also to have been from the exterior by a pointed doorway near the top, looking northwards and protected by the front wall of the castle. The walls in the upper story were pierced for lights with small circular-headed openings. In both stories are fireplaces and chimneys carried up through the thickness of the wall.

The south side of the castle consists of a range of buildings (now rudely covered with thatch and slate, and used as the cider cellars and other offices of the farmhouse), which appear at one time to have formed a complete connexion between the towers at the two angles; but are now broken off near the one on the south-west, leaving a gap through which is the approach to the lawn in front of the modern manor house. That portion of the buildings which immediately adjoins the south-east tower projects somewhat beyond the rest, and has every appearance of being a modern construction; most probably it fills up the space occupied by the drawbridge of the southern moat and its necessary defences. We are told that the place where this drawbridge crossed was near the round tower at the south-east angle, and opposite to the Courtenay Chapel (now the organ chamber and vestry) of St. Peter's Church, which would just correspond to this situation. The rest of the buildings on this side of the castle are undoubtedly ancient; they are in two stories, some of the original timbers of the flooring between which still remain, the principal beams being roughly chamfered with the axe.

In the south wall of the lower story (supposed by some to have contained prison cells, by others the stables of the castle), are two orifices scarcely deserving the name of windows; over each is a relieving arch

of pointed character which would have made a tolerable sized window, but is filled up with masonry, and the actual head of the window is formed by a heavy stone of Thorverton trap placed across at the spring of the arch. These orifices are crossed by bars of what appears to be the original ironwork. But it is in the upper story that the remains of decoration in the window openings of this wall give reason to suppose that they belonged to apartments of some consequence. There are two principal windows, both of considerable size, and with Decorated tracery in their heads, the one of three, the other of two lights. Between them is a smaller window of lancet shape, and there appears to have been a similar lancet to the east, not now noticeable externally, but of which the dripstone of Decorated character can be seen on the inner aspect of the wall. Towards the western extremity of the building is another window, which appears to have been either round-headed or of two lancet lights. Beneath this window is a door of modern formation, and just to the west is visible the relieving arch of another door, which has been blocked up, and which, no doubt, anciently gave access to these apartments.

Beyond this point the wall projects and is broken off, but when entire it appears to have met the centre of a hexagonal turret at the north-east corner of the south-western tower. This tower, situated at the south-west angle of the ruins, next demands our attention, and will complete our circuit of the existing remains. It is noticeable as differing from the other corner towers both in size and shape, being of considerably larger dimensions and of square form. At its north-east angle are the remains of the hexagonal staircase turret just referred to. The greater portion of the north wall of the tower, looking towards the inner court of the castle, has fallen down, but the other walls are still standing. On examining the interior, it is evident, from the marks on the walls, that the tower consisted of two stories, and that the lower story was divided into two apartments by a partition wall extending from north to south. The only existing trace of windows in the lower story consisted of two small openings in the east and west walls, surrounded by jambs of Thorverton stone. The former of these openings is placed considerably to one side, near the hexagonal turret, and has the appearance of having been strongly barred; the latter is situated in the centre of the wall. In what was the westernmost apartment are the remains of a fireplace against the south wall. In a corner on the floor of the tower (which has been raised considerably above its original level) are deposited some red flooring tiles, which were found among the rubbish. In the upper story the east wall presents a large irregular-shaped opening of considerably greater breadth than height. It is not easy to determine whether there ever was a window in this situation, or whether the opening is the result of violence. In the angle at the top of this wall, can still be seen one of the

corbels on which the roof rested. In the centre of the south wall of this upper story are the remains of a good pointed window of two lights, with quatrefoil head, and with the mullion and part of the transom still standing. Eastward of this window is a small lancet-shaped opening. There appears to be no corresponding lancet on the other side of the window, but considerably nearer to it, and just above the remains of the fireplace in the apartment below, the inner surface of the wall is broken. In the western wall of this upper story, in the centre, and occupying the thickness of the wall, is an arched chimney recess and fireplace, to the north of which are the remains of a lancet window with a trefoil head.

The upper apartment of this tower is commonly believed to have been the private chapel of the castle, and certainly, from its size and the remains of decoration in its windows, it seems to have been one of the principal apartments. That there was a chapel somewhere in the castle, not to be confounded with the Courtenay Chapel of St. Peter's Church, is to be inferred among other things from the account that has come down to us of the funeral obsequies of the Princess Katherine, Countess of Devonshire, in 1527.

"On Friday the 15th November" (I give the quotation as we find it in Dunsford's *History of Tiverton*), "at eight o'clock in the evening, the Princess Katherine, youngest daughter of Edward IV and widow of William Courtenay, Earl of Devon, died in the castle of Tiverton. Her body, being embalmed, leaded, and chested, was conveyed from thence to the chapel, and placed within a bar covered with black velvet on which was a cross of white satin, and upon that another pall of cloth of gold, with a cross of silver tissue thereon ornamented, with six escutcheons of her arms. There it was attended with great pomp, where it lay in state till Monday the 2nd of December, when with a formal procession it was brought to St. Peter's Church. The next day, at seven in the morning, Tuesday, 3rd December, the company being come again into the church in like solemn procession, the mass of Requiem was sung and the offerings performed, when Dr. Sarsley preached from the words "Manus Domini tetiget me;" which done, and divine service ended, the body was let down into a vault under the hearse, in a chapel on the east side of the north door of the church, at which time her officers broke their staves. The lord suffragan, with all the other abbots and prelates in their pontificals, having performed the office of burial, went into the castle, where they had a splendid entertainment."

From this it appears, that the chapel in which the body lay in state was within the castle, as the body was not brought to St. Peter's church until seventeen days after her death, and after resting there one night was solemnly interred in the Courtenay chapel, where we are told her son caused a tomb with her image thereon to be erected on the south

side of the altar. But I am aware of no grounds for the tradition that the chapel of the castle was situated in this tower, except the size and generally ornamental character of the window, and this, as we have seen, equally applies to an adjacent portion of the ruins. Although it is not necessary that a domestic chapel such as this was should have faced east and west, still, with so large a surface of east wall, we should, I think, expect, if this were the chapel, to find the remains of an eastern window similar in character to a church window.

We also certainly find a large breach in the wall where an east window might have been; the opening, however, does not appear of sufficient height for a Gothic window of any size, and there are no remains of jambs, whereas in the other windows of the apartment, portions of mullions and even transoms are still standing. On the other hand, the existence of a fireplace in the west wall, which might at first sight appear conclusive evidence that the apartment was destined for other uses than those of a chapel is not necessarily so, as there are ancient examples of the same period where the east end of an apartment was arranged as a chapel, and the west separated from it by a screen which could be closed at pleasure, and such apartments, not being exclusively used for sacred purposes, were often provided with fireplaces.

With these remarks I leave the question of the uses of this apartment in the hands of those more competent to discuss it; and in taking leave of the subject that has now occupied our attention, I would only claim the kind indulgence of the Association for undertaking a task for which my want of technical knowledge and of familiarity with architectural terms and details renders me little competent, and which I should not have presumed to attempt had there been anyone else on the spot willing to do so.

These papers on the church and castle having been suitably acknowledged, and the thanks of the meeting to the authors duly responded to, the party proceeded to the large and finely restored church, which was minutely examined, and afterwards, under the guidance of Dr. Paterson, the castle was resorted to. The authors of the papers most obligingly pointed out every thing worthy of notice in the church and belonging to the castle, and the party dispersed, on their way visiting Blundell's school, of which the Rev. J. B. Hughes is the principal. This edifice is Elizabethan, the roof said to be fashioned out of the timbers of the wreck of the Spanish Armada, and has a date of foundation 1604. The beautiful green sward and shady lime trees of the extensive play ground were much admired, and the large school-rooms, whose walls and desks are covered with the carved names of many of those who have been indebted to this valuable foundation for their education, were inspected. The summer assizes were held here in 1626 and 1649; on the first occasion

because of the plague then raging in Exeter. This school has four scholarships, four fellowships, and five exhibitions, open to all boys who receive three years education in the school.

After partaking of refreshment hospitably presented by the reverend principal and his lady, Sir Stafford Northcote expressed the acknowledgment of the whole body of visitors, and asked for a half holiday for the boys, and that all impositions should be excused; so that the scholars might have pleasant associations in connection with the visit of the archaeologists.

The Rev. J. B. Hughes thanked the Association for having honoured him by partaking of his hospitality, and expressed the pleasure with which he acceded to the president's request. In respect of holidays, as the Bishop of Exeter had observed, there was always great sympathy between the masters and the pupils.

The association then returned by rail to Collumpton, and following the mill-stream through the fields came to Collumpton church.

Mr. Roberts stated that the church was originally of Saxon foundation. The manor with its church was referred to by King Alfred, who bequeathed it to his son Ethelward. William the Conqueror gave the church, which was collegiate, with its five prebends, to the Abbot and Convent of Battle in Sussex. It was afterwards bestowed on the Priory of St. Nicholas, Exeter. The manor was subsequently granted by Richard I. to Richard de Clifford. It was afterwards held by the Earls of Devon; and Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Devon, gave it to the Abbot and Convent of Buckland. After the dissolution, it was granted to George St. Ledger, since which time it passed through many hands.

The church, dedicated to St. Andrew (described in the cartulary of St. Nicholas Priory as St. Mary), has a lofty pinnacled tower, with handsome windows and a peal of eight bells. It has several interesting monumental decorations on the exterior. Under the tower is kept a curious carved wood calvary which is said to have been erected over the rood-loft, and to have contained crucifixes. The beautiful and highly ornate screen and rood-loft at once strike the beholder, on entering the church. They have recently been carefully restored, in a manner which redounds to the credit of those who have subscribed towards the cost; but the tone of colouring is rather too gorgeous to be in keeping with the rest of the edifice. The decorated roof is really beautiful, and the portion over the chancel has been restored with great taste. The Lane chapel on the south side is a very handsome addition to the church. This partakes of the character of the chapels or additional aisles at Ottery St. Mary and Tiverton, and was apparently executed by the same hands. The tower has been thrown open to the nave and the organ placed on one side, so as to leave the western window in view. Mr. Roberts with others, esteemed the gallery exceptionable, and expressed regret that the mural

paintings on the walls had been coloured over. The buttresses in the south aisles, he said, had been added since the erection of Lane's Chapel. In the inscription on the exterior, the words which had always been read "Wapentake custos," were "with a pater and an ave."

The Association having thoroughly inspected this very handsome church, carriages were taken for Bradfield House, about two miles from Collumpton, the seat of the Walrond family for centuries. The broad front of this Elizabethan mansion, which has recently been restored by Mr. J. Hayward, of Exeter, is approached by a good drive, and surrounded by gardens tastefully laid out under the direction of J. W. Walrond, Esq. Here the Association were met by upwards of two hundred of the *élite* of the county, who had been invited to join them. The members were most kindly received by Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Walrond, and conducted to a large marquee, where a very elegant repast was provided.

Compliments being reciprocated, and the thanks of the Association elegantly and eloquently offered by the President to their kind hosts, the company repaired to the mansion, which was thrown open and examined in all its parts. Assembled in the hall, Mr. J. Hayward, the architect, read the following paper :

As it was thought that Bradfield House, with its fine hall and roof, would be an object of interest to the Members of the British Archæological Association, and as the task of restoring the building, and adapting it to the wants and usages of the present day, was entrusted to me by Mr. Walrond, a request has been made that I would undertake the duty of giving some account of this ancient manor house. I fear, however, from the small extent of the really old part of the structure, I shall very imperfectly perform this duty; for unlike many other houses of this kind, no very early work is extant. Had even fragments of such work existed, an architectural Owen would be able, probably, to re-erect the old building, and give the members of the Association a tolerable notion of what formerly existed; unfortunately, too, there are few or no documentary records of either the existing or earlier buildings that I have been able to meet with to aid me in giving some interest to this short paper.

Of the antiquity of a house at Bradfield there can, however, be no doubt; for we learn from Sir Wm. Pole's collections, that "Bradfield (anciently called Bradfelle) had its first inhabitants of that name. In King Henry 2 tyme, Richard de Bradfelle unto whom succeeded Robert his sonne: afterwards Richard Walrond, about the beginning of King Henry 3 had his dwelling in this place, whose posterity have ever sythen remayned at Bradfield." It is probable that Pole is in error as to the time when the property came into possession of the Walronds for the

original deed of conveyance was granted by Fulke Paynel to Richard Walrond and is now extant—it has no date, but that it was anterior to the first of Henry III is shown by Fulke Paynel's son being in possession of his father's lands in that year. According to Pole, Paynel was lord of Bampton, and the family was preceded by the Cogans. This deed Mr. Walrond has, and it is an interesting fact in these days of change, to know that for a period of about six centuries and a half the property has continued uninterruptedly in the possession of this family. The heiresses of Stowford, Ufflete and Whitinge have married into this family; a younger branch was settled for several descents at Rovey, and the heiress of this branch married the late Lord Rolle. One of the Walronds, probably the second in descent from our first named, was a baron in the fiftieth year of Henry III's reign.¹

The earliest and almost the only notice we have of the buildings at Bradfield, is that John Walrond, probably the fourth in descent,² obtained a license for his oratory at Bradfield, on the 17th of May, 1352,³ a proof not only of the position of the family at that time, but also that the house was then of importance. It is probably to this oratory that Lysons refers in saying "there was formerly an ancient chapel at Bradfield Hall, which has been pulled down." No traces of it now exist, although there was a tradition that some old offices, which from their ruinous state were destroyed in 1852, were the chapel. The only reason for such a tradition can be that the roof had curved ribs. It had no other features of a chapel, and the fact of the building running north and south is conclusive against the supposition of its having been used for this purpose. Its real position I believe to have been between the north side of the house, and the part of the ground which retains the name of the Chapel yard.

The most ancient part of the house is the hall, which, however, has been altered from its original character in many respects; for jambs of ancient windows in its eastern side differing from the present ones were discovered when the plastering of the walls was removed, and one of these formerly existed where the porch now stands. None of the old windows now remain; but one of the single light with ogee traceried head stood near the end of the western wall and was replaced by a doorway, to give access from the gallery to the rooms on the western part of the upper story of the building. The stone of this window was too much decayed to be used again, but the windows were copied and inserted in the south wall of the north staircase. If, however, the windows have been damaged, the fine old roof remains almost in its integrity; for although new timbers were inserted where necessary, and decayed carvings were

¹ Westcote's *Devonshire*, p. 484.

² The next John was eighth in descent. See Pole, p. 206.

³ Oliver.

replaced with new, every care was taken to preserve all that could safely remain. It may be mentioned in evidence of this, that, sunk as the roof was, none of it was taken down, but it was raised to a true level and thoroughly repaired and strengthened, and the part of the eastern wall was rebuilt with a pier between the present windows, in order to avoid a repetition of the former evil of the roof being inadequately supported by a lintel over the very wide window which lighted this side of the hall. This window has no less than eight lights in its width, and as it formed no part of the original construction, there was little hesitation in replacing it with the present two openings, and thereby obtaining a proper support for the roof. At the north end of the hall is a small window, at the level of the large gallery of the chamber floor, so usually found in houses of this description and very similar to the one we saw at Cadhay. The situation of this window may serve to explain that this gallery was probably used for the assembling of the ladies previous to their descending into the hall on festive occasions, when the general guests were seated, and probably also for enabling the mistress of the house to view the revelry going on below after she had retired. There are also some rather curious openings between the buttery and the gallery over the screen, the use of which is not very clear, but it might have been intended for handing up refreshments to the musicians. The two figures painted on the wall over the dais are rather curious, and the shields painted on the jambs of the windows are copies of what existed before the recent alterations were made.

It is not likely that an earlier date than the commencement of the sixteenth century can be ascribed to this part of the building, or that the remainder of it was erected before the time of Elizabeth, or more probably of James I.

One of the ground plans shows the extent of the house as it existed before the alterations made in 1852-3, and the other its present arrangement and the manner in which the old part has been adapted to the wants of modern society, the additions in this plan being tinted a lighter shade than the old parts.

The hall is forty-four feet by twenty-one and a half feet, and has, as usual, its screen, gallery, and raised dais. The buttery opened directly into the hall, under the screen, and the old door with its hatch is still preserved. Adjoining the buttery was the kitchen, with its large fireplace and separate hatch; and instead of recourse being had to the old-fashioned canine turnspit or menial servant, the operation of roasting was aided by a small stream of water passing on the side of the kitchen and turning a small wheel, which set the spits in motion. Beyond the kitchen were other offices, now pulled down. The hall had its bay or recess on the eastern end of the dais, separated from the room by a low arch; and beyond was, and still is, the drawing-room, thirty-four feet by

twenty feet, with its rich and quaint carvings and its ornamental ceiling. In the panelling will be seen numerous shields, showing some of the many intermarriages of the Walronds. Two other rooms complete the northern part of the house, and a staircase opening from the western end of the dais gives access to these rooms, as well as to those above. The rooms in the south front were approached by another staircase. The windows at the eastern end of the drawing-room, and what is called the morning room, as well as those above, were common wooden sashes; but the spaces between the upper and lower ones were filled with a series of stone panelling containing shields bearing the arms of the family. This panelling has been preserved and used in the new bay windows of this and the south parts. Whatever character the exterior of the house once possessed, little remained beyond that of the windows, most of which (except those on the south side) either now remain or have been restored. The walls were plastered with rough cast, and were without buttress and almost without string-course or cornice; and the parapets had nothing but plain stone copings and a few wooden ornaments in the gables.

I might here close this notice; but as the study of archaeology is useful in suggesting to the architect the means by which old beauties may be preserved, I may perhaps be permitted briefly to describe the manner in which it has been attempted to adapt this fine old house to modern wants and usages. It will be seen that the only parts altered in the old building are the domestic offices. The kitchen and buttery stood in the south part; and as this is the most agreeable aspect in this northern climate, and the porch attached to the great hall is inconvenient for the approach of carriages, it was considered desirable to make the entrance on this side, and also to replace the kitchen with a family room, in which the cook's skill is tested rather than exercised.

The south wall was in a most dilapidated state; and as it had to be rebuilt, the opportunity was taken of relieving the monotony of the old straight front by a projecting porch and bay windows. The gable ends of the north and south wings were also ornamented with bay windows, the excessive width of the old openings (eleven feet) suggesting that something of this kind formed part of the original design. The north wall, too, required rebuilding; and as this was evidently not in its original state, gables were carried up over them, from the upper part of the windows being cut off by the gutter; and projecting chimney shafts were added, not only to act as buttresses, but to give suitable bases to the shafts, which originally stood merely on the top of a straight wall. The turrets are modern, and replace square boxes, which were covered at the sides, as well as on the top, with slates.

For the merits and defects of this restoration I am alone responsible. Mr. Walrond, though possessing more than ordinary taste, having most

kindly left everything to my judgment. The taste and skill with which the ground is laid out are entirely his own; and much as I am sure the place will be admired by all who visit Bradfield, his ability in doing what he has effected can only be properly appreciated by those who knew it before he took it in hand.

Thanks were offered to Mr. Hayward, the party were gathered together, and returned to Exeter. In the evening the President took the chair, and reverted to the very gratifying proceedings of the day, and then called upon Mr. Thomas Wright to read his paper on "Municipal Archives of Exeter," which will appear in a future *Journal*.

The President offered the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Wright, and called upon Mr. Pettigrew, in the absence of the author, to read Sir Gardner Wilkinson's communication on British Remains on Dartmoor (see pp. 22-53, and 111-133, *ante*).

The proceedings for the remainder of the Congress were then announced, and will be given in detail in the next number of the *Journal*.

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 8, 1862.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE chairman expressed, on the part of the officers and council of the Association, at this the first meeting for the year, their deep and unfeigned regret, in which every member of the body participated, for the decease of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort on the 14th of December last. By this event the nation had sustained an irreparable loss; and in particular those associations having for their object the promotion of art, researches into, and elucidation of, its history. The distinguished and refined taste of his late Royal Highness, his zeal and ardent exertions in the promotion of all objects calculated to extend learning and advance the civilization of man, elevate his character, and relieve distress, had endeared him to every Englishman; and it would not be possible to select any individual capable of supplying his place in any one of the varied objects to which he had directed his attention. The possession of such talent and power which qualified him not only to embrace *minutiæ*, but also to generalize them, was the attribute of special genius, and served to increase our sorrow for his loss. The Association had enjoyed the honour of His Royal Highness's patronage at their Congress, held in 1855, in the Isle of Wight; and had received also from His Royal Highness a donation to the funds to aid in the illustration of the antiquities of the locality. Of these services the Association would ever entertain the most lively sense of gratitude. No less sincerely do the members of the Association sympathize with Her Most Gracious Majesty in her profound sorrow for the loss of such distinguished excellence, and pray the Almighty Disposer of events to sustain her under so great an affliction.

The following were elected associates :

- Richard N. Philipps, Esq., F.S.A., Broom Hall, Yorkshire, and Hall Staircase, Temple.
- Arthur Shute, Esq., Liverpool.
- Thomas Shapter, M.D., Exeter.
- William Poole King, Esq., Rodney Place, Clifton.
- Charles Pearce, Esq., Grove Hill, Camberwell.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society. Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Vols. xi and xii for Sessions 1858-60. Liverpool. 8vo.

,, , Report of the Council of the Art Union for 1861. Lond. 8vo.

,, , Canadian Journal for November 1861. Toronto. 8vo.

To the Editor. Life of Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., by the late G. W. Fulcher. Edited by his Son. 2nd edit. Lond., 1856. 12mo.

To H. Davies, Esq. Plan of Discoveries at Uriconium during 1861. By H. Davies. Folio.

Mr. George Godwin, V.P., communicated a letter he had received from Mr. Perkins, the architect to Worcester cathedral, in reference to the discovery therein made, some particulars concerning which were transmitted by the Very Rev. the Dean of Worcester and laid before the meeting on the 11th December last.

Mr. Perkins writes that "on Wednesday, Jan. 1st, the coffin in question was examined as far as possible, encumbered as it yet is by the masonry which partly surrounds it. It proves to be Early English; and the paten and the remains of vestments, which are considerable, are of excellent character." An account of this examination appeared in the *Worcester Herald* of the 4th January, stating that—

"A formal examination of the sepulchral remains recently discovered in the chancel of the cathedral was made in the presence of the dean, who had invited several local antiquaries, and also some of the Roman Catholic clergy and gentry, to be present during the inspection. Mr. Bloxam, of Rugby, was also present, and favoured the party with his opinions as to the appearance and peculiarities of the remains. It will be remembered that about a month ago the workmen now engaged in the restoration of the cathedral, while excavating near the foundation of a pier at the north-west angle of the chancel, came to a stone coffin, a portion of which fell away, exposing the remains of an ancient bishop, buried in his canonicals. The paten was found on the breast of the corpse, and the pastoral staff was by its side; but neither chalice nor ring has come to light, although it is tolerably certain they must have formed part of the remains. The contents of the coffin appeared to have been much disturbed, yet a considerable portion of the robes was visible: they are exceedingly rich; and from the ornamental details upon them Mr. Bloxam was of opinion that they belong to the thirteenth century. Among those embroidered details was a scroll-work, and a crown as of a monarch on his throne. Portions of the stole, maniple, and chasuble were identified, and the lower portion of the pastoral staff was visible; it was not a crosier. No opinion was given by Mr. Bloxam as to which of the bishops of Worcester the remains might have belonged.

"By the side of the coffin, and at about six feet distance (as written by Mr. Perkins to Mr. Godwin), was also found a mummy in a web of lead, probably of about the end of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth, century. This relic was also inspected. It lies down some feet below the pavement near the altar; and the lead case or coating, in which the corpse is enveloped, has been moulded or otherwise bent to the shape of the whole body, the features included. The figure is evidently of a man nearly six feet long, and, with its lead covering, was enclosed in an outer coffin of wood, which has perished, except the metal handles. The hands are not crossed in the attitude of prayer, but are laid downwards, and meet near the middle of the body. Mr. Bloxam was not very clear as to the date of this. The body, he said, had been embalmed, and there were the remains of a cere-cloth which had enveloped it. Burying in lead had prevailed more or less from the time of the Romans till the present day. In the fifteenth century they began to embalm with a kind of liquid, and embalming was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He was inclined to think this body must have been laid in its resting-place in the time of Elizabeth or James I."

To this account we are now enabled to add some extracts from Mr. Bloxam's letter addressed to the editor of the *Worcester Herald* :—

"The coffin, though now much broken and mutilated, is of the shape prevalent during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, gradually narrowing from the head downwards, with a cavity hollowed out in the upper part to fit the head. The sepulchral effigy, which in all probability once covered this coffin, has long since been removed and replaced by two or three stones. The upper and lower portions of the remains had, I found, been somewhat disturbed, the coffin at the lower end being partly filled with rubbish. The skull of the bishop had fallen on the right side, and the vestments covering the upper part of the body appeared reduced to shreds, changed to a chocolate colour. The vestments covering the middle part of the body were most perfect, and the outline and folds of the chasuble could be traced. The lower part of the coffin was exposed towards the feet, but had been partly filled with rubbish; this was to some extent cleared out during my examination, but had occasioned some disarrangement in the vestments, so that it was difficult to distinguish between them severally. The body has apparently been vested in the alb, tunic, dalmatic, chasuble, stole, and maniple, with the amice about the neck, and the mitre on the head. Of the latter, the lower portion, constituting the band round the forehead, was still apparent; and a small silver-gilt ornament, not unlike a morse, appears to have been placed in front of the mitre. The pastoral staff was on the right side; the lower portion was still remaining, but

neither crook nor ferule could be discovered. The episcopal ring had not been found, nor the chalice, which it was customary to bury with the corpse. A silver-gilt paten—in perfect preservation, measuring about four inches and five-eighths in diameter, with an engraved quatrefoil, in the centre of which was represented a hand with two of the fingers upraised as in the act of benediction—was discovered, and is now, with the ornament I presume to have been affixed to the mitre, in the possession of the dean. This paten is very similar to one or more discovered in the graves of prelates in York cathedral, and is clearly of the thirteenth century. The vestments were exceedingly rich, of gold tissue and embroidered work, with scrolls and other accessories, as figures of birds and kings, in that particular conventional style which prevailed during the middle of the thirteenth century, to which period, *circa A.D. 1250*, a few years earlier or later, these relics may, I think, be confidently assigned. I have been promised drawings of some of these accessories by Mr. Perkins, and hope at a future period to enter more fully on the subject.¹ Whether these remains are those of William de Blois, Bishop of Worcester, who died *A.D. 1236*, or of Walter de Cantelupe, who died *A.D. 1266*, I cannot say. I am rather inclined, however, to attribute them to the latter, certainly not to an earlier period than the episcopacy of the former, as the details of the ornamentation of the vestments, whether of stole, maniple, parures, or orfreys of the chasuble, clearly evince.

"Of the embalmed corpse enclosed in lead I am not so positive as to date. It may be of the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth century. My first impression on seeing it was that it was of the latter period; and, though not too confident, that opinion still remains. It is, however, a very singular instance, which I have not previously met with, of a corpse enclosed in lead, not only conforming to the shape of the body, which was not unusual, but with a mask over the face, and the arms and legs visibly pourtrayed. The body has been evidently embalmed and swathed in cerecloth. The embalmment of the bodies of persons of rank in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries was a practice by no means uncommon, and a variety of processes were employed; but I will not now say more on this point. Whether this coffin contains, as has been suggested, and I think not without a fair degree of probability, the remains of the Duke of Hamilton—mortally wounded in the memorable fight of Worcester, and buried within this cathedral, at or near the spot where this coffin was discovered—or of some other eminent individual, is a fair subject for further investigation. This was encased in an outer coffin of wood, which had fallen into decay, but fragments of which were still apparent. The coffin handles which were

¹ Mr. Perkins has also kindly proffered to furnish Mr. Godwin with drawings illustrative of the discovery, but they have not yet reached the Association.



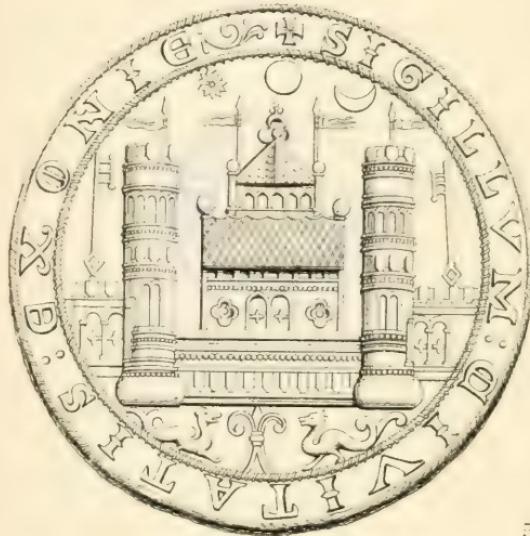
3



2



1



5

4



found did not exhibit any peculiar fashion or marks of ornamentation by which their age could be judged of. I may remark, however, that the dean has in his possession a small javelin head, found in or near this outer coffin, apparently of the seventeenth century as to date. This I did not know of when I first formed my conjecture as to the date of the lead coffin.

“MATTHEW HOLBECHIE BLOXAM.

“Rugby, January 2nd, 1862.”

In the course of the discussion that ensued Mr. Pettigrew produced a drawing of the coffin of the celebrated Dr. William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, whose remains lie buried in the family vault at Hempstead, Essex. They are contained in a leaden coffin of the shape of the human figure, which mode was exhibited in several instances in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Gidley, Town Clerk of Exeter, presented impressions of three seals of the fourteenth century, belonging to the corporation :

1. The civic seal is circular, and measures three inches and a half in diameter. The device consists of a castle with two very lofty round towers, which are connected with each other by an embattled wall. Between them is a building comprising two floors, which is conjectured to represent the guild-hall. Above the building is the disc of the sun with a star on the right side, whilst on the left appears a crescent moon. On each side, placed erect, is a large key with lozenge bow, constituting the emblem of the patron saint, Peter. Beneath the castle there is a fleur-de-lis between two wyverns or chimera. The legend reads, *+SIGILVM : CIVITATIS : EXONIE.* (See plate 13, fig. 1.)

2. The seal of the mayor of Exeter is of an oval form, an inch and a half in height, and presents a half figure of St. Peter within a rich tabernacle, the sides of which are formed of lofty towers connected together at the base by an embattled wall having a gateway in the centre. St. Peter has a lofty *regnum* on his head. In his right hand he holds a church, and in his left has a cross-staff. On the right side of the tower is a sword, and on the left two keys erect. In the exergue is to be seen a leopard's head crowned. On each side of the top of the tabernacle is a star. The legend of this seal reads, *s' MAIORATVS : CIVITATIS : EXONIE.* (See fig. 2.)

3. The seal for statutes' merchant, or recognizance of debtors, is of a circular form, and measures an inch and three-quarters diameter. It presents the head of Edward II, crowned and full-faced, with a lion passant across the breast of the bust. A castle is represented on each side, bearing reference to his mother, Eleanor of Castile. The legend reads, *s' EDW' REG' ANGL' AD RECOGN' DEBITOR' APVD EXONIAM.* (See fig. 3.)

Dr. Kendrick transmitted an impression of the seal of Roger, porter of

the castle of Exeter, who with others got into a disgraceful row with certain citizens in the year 1302, as mentioned in Mr. T. Wright's paper on the municipal archives of Exeter. The seal displays the standing figure of Roger regarding the right; his head apparently covered by a nasal helmet, and his body by a surcoat or tunic descending to the heels, beneath which are seen the long pointed toes of the chausses. His left hand holds the keys of the castle, which, if estimated from the height of the effigy, must have measured near a yard in length. By his side hangs a formidable sword, and his right hand rests on the hip. The remains of the legend reads, **SIGILLVM ROGER** (See fig. 4.)

Mr. T. G. Norris also presented impressions of two Exeter seals of the fifteenth century. The matrices are of silver, and vesica-shaped:

1. Seal of the College of Vicars Choral. Beneath a rich canopy is the figure of the Saviour with a cross-staff in his left hand; whilst his right is extended to St. Peter, who appears as sinking in the waves. On a label are the words **QVARE DVBITASTI**; beneath is a choir of six persons. The legend reads: **SI : COE CVSTODIS ET COLLEGII : VICARIOVM DE CHORO ECCLIE CATHEDRALIS EXONIE.** (Fig. 5.)

2. Seal of Thomas Dene, prior of St. James' Abbey. The late Rev. Dr. Oliver says¹ he was certainly prior in 1428; and he considers him to have been the last to hold the office, as it was suppressed in the reign of Henry VI. The prior's seal was found in March 1822, among some rubbish in Southernhay, and has been engraved in the *Monasticon*. The matrix, which is of silver, is now in the possession of John Carew, of Knightley's, Esq. It represents the patron, St. James the Great, standing on a bracket within a richly elaborated tabernacle. The saint is habited as a pilgrim. In his right hand is a staff, and in his left a book. The legend reads, **S . FRIS . THOME . DENE . PRIOR . EXONIE.** The priory of St. James was founded by Baldwin de Redvers, or Rivers, shortly before the year 1146, as a cell to the great Cluniac monastery of St. Martin de Campis, near Paris. The site of St. James' Abbey is perfectly well known, but the building has entirely disappeared, the place being now occupied by a row of poor cottages called "The Old Abbey"; and the wear on the Exe, immediately below it, bears the name of "St. James' Wear." Colonel Harding states that when he came to reside in Exeter, about twelve years since, there was a stone coffin on the site; which, indeed, still exists, but recently has been built into a low garden wall, leaving the end only visible. The late Rev. Dr. Oliver has given a list of the priors, as far as he could ascertain them, extending from A.D. 1157 to 1428, fourteen in number. The community was small, consisting of only a prior and four monks. One of the priors is denounced by Bishop Grandisson as "fatum et incautum," and styles him "vagabundus et nullibi residens." The bishop excommunicated him May 8, 1334, for

¹ *Monasticon Diœcesis Exoniensis*, p. 192.

refusing to appear before the commissioners, but absolved him four months after.¹

Whilst on the subject of seals connected with Exeter, we here avail ourselves of the use of some blocks in the possession of T. J. Pettigrew, Esq. Plate 14, fig. 1, represents the seal of the Free Grammar School founded at Crediton by Edward VI in 1547, the letters patent for which were confirmed by Elizabeth in 1559. The governors proving unworthy of the trust reposed in them, legal proceedings were instituted in the reign of James I. The particulars of these, and the subsequent measures in the Court of Chancery, in 1808, are recorded in our *Journal*.² The seal of the governors presents the figure of Christ encircled with the following words: -|- SIG : XII . GVBER : BONOR : ECLE . S . CRVCIS DE CREDITON : 1674.

The seal of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist is a very interesting one. The Rev. Dr. Oliver has figured a seal as of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, Exeter.³ It is preserved by the corporation, is of a circular form, smaller than the subsequent one of the hospital, though still resembling it in form. It reads, SIGIL . HOSPITAL . RETRO . SCM . NICOLAV. According to Dr. Oliver the hospital was established as early as 1225,—a piece of information derived from an entry in the old Missal of St. Martin's church, which reads thus: “De dono Philippi fratris archidiaconi Exonic ex opposito contra ecclesiam Sancti Pauli xijd. et debent solvi per manum senescalli hospitalis beati Johannis infra muros Exonie capellæ Sancti Martini Exonie. M°CC°XXV°.” Mr. Pettigrew, in his account of the seal (see fig. 2) in his paper on the Grammar School of Exeter,⁴ gives the foundation of the hospital from a deed of the date of 1238, as founded by two brothers of the name of Long (Gilbert and John), sons of Walter Long of Exeter, in the reign of Henry III. The school appears to have been added to the hospital, and owes its foundation to Bishop Grandisson in 1332. The representation here given is from a deed, May 30, 1538. The legend reads, + SIGILL HOSPITAL SCI . JOHIS . IVXTA . ORIENTAL PORTA EXON.

Fig. 3 is another seal, and belongs to the Free Grammar School within the Hospital of St. John the Baptist; the deed of endowment of which, executed by the Crossings, is deposited in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries, and bears date Feb. 20, 5th Charles I (1629).⁵ The seal, —per pale *gules* and *sable*, a triangular castle with three towers, *or*, before which are three figures with uplifted hands, over which is the eye of Providence. The legend reads, :: SIGILLVM . HOSPITALIS . STI . IOHIS . INFRA . CIVITATEM . EXON. The arms at the base are those of

¹ Historic Collections relating to the Monasteries of Devon. By Rev. George Oliver. Exeter, 1820. p. 22.

² Vol. xii, p. 68.

⁴ Journal, xii, 68.

³ Monast. Dioc. Exon.

⁵ Journal, xii, pp. 69, 70.

the Crossing family. On a chevron, between three crosslets fichée, three roundels.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, Hon. Sec., read some notes relative to Roman remains found in Exeter :

"Isca Danmoniorum (he observed) has, as might be expected, yielded abundant evidence of Roman occupation, but that evidence has been so sadly neglected, lost and scattered, that we now look almost in vain for some proof that the imperial legions here held sway, that here was once the busy mart of Roman commerce, the abiding place of Roman wealth and luxury. In several instances the sites of Roman villas have been found, but the records of their finding are meagre in the extreme. We learn from Stukeley that a portion of a pavement was discovered eight feet below the surface in St. Pancras Lane. In the year 1777, remains of another pavement were met with in High Street. And a third was found in 1843, near the cathedral, just in front of the eastern portion, near Speke's chapel. This last pavement was four feet beneath the earth, and the part uncovered measured about nine feet in length, by six in breadth, and was composed of cubes of red terra-cotta and black stone. At the same time ornamented tiles, pottery and coins, were exhumed.

"In 1845, a Roman bath was brought to light in Queen Street, when numerous coins and pottery were turned up, and near the site "an immense quantity of bones of oxen and sheep, and the entire skeleton of an ox."¹ A few years previous to this discovery, (Sept. 1833) some remains were met with near the conduit, in South Street, which were considered to be those of a *therma*, but there were also indications of a sepulchre; for besides tessellæ of the pavement, glass, Samian-ware, keys, and a coin of the elder Philip, there were funeral urns of black terra-cotta, human bones and cinders. An undoubted sepulchral vault was discovered in May 1837, behind the Three Tuns, in Fore Street. Within it were five *columbariae* or niches, each containing an earthen *olla*.

"Many examples of *fictilia* of a highly interesting character have been exhumed in Exeter: among others may be mentioned a portion of a large coarse *mortarium*, bearing the stamps of the maker—^{Q. VALERIUS}_{VERANIVS}. In 1836 there was found at the Post Office Inn, a small *unguentarium* of deep grey terra-cotta, with the word NAMEVE rudely scratched upon it, and in the same year two lamps of brown terra-cotta were met with in excavating in the Western Market, one having on it a panther, the other a galley with high *rostrum* and square sail.

"Vast quantities of Samian pottery, both plain and embossed, have been found, and amongst them a few pieces of the beautiful variety known as *Arezzo ware*, of which a specimen is given in our JOURNAL (v. 164), decorated with a seated figure of Apollo, and which is reproduced on plate 14, fig. 4, as a fine example of its kind.

¹ See *Journal*, i, 140.

"The Samian pottery of Exeter furnish the following names of *figuli*:

OF . AQV .	MARCI (?)	ODIO	SILVANT F
OF BASSI .	MARCLE	OF PRIMI	SVRO . . .
OF CRESTIO .	OF . MOD .	REG	OF . VAN .
LICINANO .	OF . MODESTI .	REGINI . M .	VANI . F .
OF . MAN .	OF MVRRAN	SENICI . O	VERECVNDI .
MAR .	OF NICRI .	SENNIVS	VIVES .

"Nothing very remarkable in the way of *vitrea* seems to have occurred at Exeter—fragments of urns and *unguentaria* of ordinary type and aspect being the chief representatives of Roman art in this material.

"Of antiquities of metal found in Exeter, the coins of course form by far the larger portion, extending in date from Claudius to Valens, or in other words from the first to the fourth century of our era, and include among them several struck for Grecian colonies.

"Among the rarer objects in bronze must be placed the hilt of a sword or dagger, exhumed in South Street, in 1833, which has on it a horse and the legend Σ. MEFITI . T . EQ . FRIS., which has been rendered "*Servii Mefiti Tribuni Equitum Frisiorum.*" This remarkable relic fell into the hands of Capt. Shortt of Heavitree, who considered it to have belonged to the tribune of a corps of German auxiliary troops from the Rhine.

"Another object of rare character, found in the Western Market, 1837, is a *gutturnium* with tri-lobed lip, the bottom decorated with concentric circles, and the base of the *ansa* or handle having on it a little figure of Horus, naked and holding a whip in his right hand.

"Still more curious than the gutturnium are the bronze *images* which have from time to time been found in Exeter. In 1778, several *penates* were exhumed at the corner of Broadgate.¹ And in removing some old walls in Westgate Quarter, in December 1836, there was discovered a statuette of an emperor, about 3 inches high, with laurel crown, *paludamentum*, military tunic, and a species of *caliga*. The right arm somewhat raised and in the hand the orb; the left hand holding a *parazonium*, which rests upon the shoulder.

"Many other relics in earth and metal might be cited, but those referred to are sufficient proof of the importance of the Roman remains which Exeter has produced, but which she has permitted to be dispersed far and wide, heedless of their value as helps to local history."

Mr. P. Orlando Hutchinson transmitted the drawing of a bronze celt four inches in length, found in the tumulus in "Stone Burrow Plot," Lovehayne Farm, five miles north-east from Sidmouth, about the year

¹ These Penates are described in Mr. Pettigrew's paper, "On Roman Penates discovered at Exeter." They were exhibited to the meeting, and consist of two figures of Mercury, a Ceres, a Mars, and an Apollo, together with a cock. They will be engraved, and appear in vol. ii of the *Collectanea Archaeologica*.

1800. Tradition says there were many others found at the same time, but they were sold for old metal. This tumulus was totally removed in October last, and is described in Mr. Hutchinson's paper delivered at the Exeter Congress, to which the reader is referred for further particulars. (See p. 58 *ante.*)

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited an oval miniature on ivory of Queen Elizabeth, painted, apparently, in the early part of her reign. She is nearly full-faced, with golden-brown hair decked with pearls and surmounted by a very small crown. A jewel depends on the forehead, pearls from the ears; the neck encircled by a string of beads with pendant, and shaded by a standing ruff. The dress is of a deep purple hue, adorned with gems in the manner rendered familiar to us by the pencil of Zuccherino.¹

Mr. S. Solly, F.R.S., F.S.A., exhibited two miniatures of Queen Elizabeth, both of which were formerly in Dr. Mead's collection. The younger portrait is the work of Isaac Oliver, whose monogram in gold is seen on the crimson drapery forming the back of the picture. The miniature is nearly full-faced, the right cheek being a little more shewn than the left. The complexion is very fair, the hair a light golden-brown, with long lock hanging down on the left side and pearl coronet at the back of the head. A pearl depends from the ear, and round the neck hangs a fine black cord with pendant ornament. The bosom is much exposed, and the little dress which is introduced seems to be of white lace, and at the back stands up a transparent collar, bringing to mind the portrait wherein the princess holds a dove upon her finger. Granger² says, "Queen Elizabeth, who reasoned much better upon state affairs than on works of art, was persuaded that shadows were unnatural in painting, and ordered Isaac Oliver to paint her without any." The above miniature manifests how strictly the artist obeyed the royal commands.

Mr. Solly's second miniature represents the queen in the same posi-

¹ In the British Museum are two oil paintings of Elizabeth by Zuccherino, who arrived in England in 1574, when the queen was about forty-one years of age. In one she has a brown dress decorated with jewels; her hair powdered with gold; a carcanet of six or seven rows falling to the waist; and she holds the sceptre and orb. In the second she is in a gorgeous black dress with white sleeves ornamented with jewels, the hair decked with gems and a small crown. There are six portraits of Elizabeth at Hampton Court, taken at different periods of life. Two are by Holbein,—one representing her as a child about twelve years of age, the other when somewhat older. Two are by Zuccherino,—one of them being the famous picture in which she wears a Persian dress, and with a scroll beneath, bearing fourteen lines of poetry composed by her majesty. In the fifth, by Lucas de Heere, she is accompanied by the Graces; and the sixth, by Mark Garrard, is supposed to be one of her latest portraits. Lord Dillon has a curious portrait of Elizabeth standing in the map of England, by Zuccherino; and the Duke of Portland has one with the sword of justice at the queen's feet, and a view of Wanstead in the background, by L. de Heere.

² Biographical Hist. of Eng., ed. 1769, p. 128.

tion as the last, but much further advanced in life. Her hair though of the same hue is of a somewhat darker shade. She wears pearl ear-drops, necklace with pendant, a ruff as high as the eyes and looking like a pair of wings rising from the shoulders, the sleeves of the dress are very full, and the waist long and slender; but little more than the face of the queen is finished, the rest being merely sketched in. The field of the miniature is a fine clear blue. This picture has hitherto been ascribed to Isaac Oliver, but it may be a question if it be not the work of Hilliard.¹

Mr. G. H. Bohn exhibited an oval miniature of Queen Elizabeth, painted in oil on copper by Zuccherino. It is a three-quarter face, turned somewhat to the left of the spectator. The hair decorated with stars and surmounted by a crown with crimson lining. The dress is red, covered with a lattice of yellow ovoid puffing and ornamented with pearls. The ruff and cuff are of white lace. A pearl depends from the ear, and round the neck are long strings of pearls. This choice production is contained in a frame of white ivory set with eight magnificent carbuncles.

Mr. G. H. Bohn exhibited a portrait of Mary Stuart, upon an oval plaque of silver, about nine inches and a half high; a most curious example of *repoussé*, elaborately chased, the whole field being delicately tooled over with minute scrolls. It is a half-length figure, nearly full-faced, and habited in the familiar coiffure, an enormous veil spreading round the back of the person, the bodice having a double row of buttons down its front; a crucifix hangs from a long necklace, and about the waist is a chain-girdle. The border of the plaque is decorated with thistles and foliage, and bears the legend, MARIA QUEEN OF SCOTS. 1580, and therefore represents her in her thirty-eighth year.

Mr. Bohn also exhibited a miniature of Mary, either painted on or backed with mother-of-pearl, and mounted in gold as a brooch.

In 1853, Mr. F. H. Davis laid before the Association a beautiful miniature of the Queen of Scots by Zuccherino, and in 1860 two youthful portraits of her by Paris Bordone were produced by Dr. Copland.

A further contribution from Mr. Bohn were two fine miniatures by Samuel Cooper, one being the artist's own portrait, the other that of

¹ In the National Portrait Gallery is a most elegant miniature of Elizabeth painted by Hilliard on the back of a playing card (the "Queen of Hearts"). It represents her three-quarter face, the right cheek being brought into view. The hair is light brown, adorned with gems; the dress black, with the shoulder-sleeves puffed with white; the tight, long sleeves are white with coloured flowers, and over them are full sleeves of lace; the ruff and partlet are also of lace, the latter embroidered in colours, and somewhat open in front so as to expose a portion of the bosom. On the left shoulder is fixed a white rose, and round the neck is a rich carcanet, from which depends a fine cord with small black ring at its end. On the breast is a large jewel. The field of the miniature is blue, and on it is inscribed in gold, "Auo Dm. 1572. Ætatis sue 38," and the initials E. R. beneath little crowns.

Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich and Viscount Hinchingbrooke, who fell in a naval engagement with the Dutch off Southwold Bay in 1672.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, Hon. Sec., exhibited a bust of Queen Elizabeth on an oval plaque of bronze four inches and a quarter high, a solid casting elaborately chased and finished off in the most masterly style, but neither name nor initial indicative of the artist, who is, however, conjectured to have been Nicholas Hilliard, who was at once goldsmith, painter, and chaser to her majesty. The hair, as in the majority of Elizabeth's portraits, is frizzled and entwined with pearls, a crown is fixed on the top of the head, and a jewel adorns the forehead. She has pendent earrings, and a necklace with string of six beads and rose-shaped jewel descending between her breasts, which are partly seen above the edge of the richly flowered gown. A lace ruff or collar spreads from the shoulders round the back, standing up in stiff folds above the ears. The extraordinary prominence of this bust enables it to be viewed both as a full-face and profile, and in the latter position offers a valuable memento for comparison with the cameo sardonyx by Vincentio in the South Kensington Museum, the one set in the "Essex ring," in the possession of the Rev. Lord Thynne, and the enamelled trinket in the British Museum, in neither of which, however, has she the noble aspect given to her in this bronze medallion. Of the history of this specimen, nothing more seems known than that it was formerly in an old Welsh collection, and was brought to London a year or so since.

Mr. C. Ainslie exhibited a sovereign of Elizabeth, issued in the forty-third year of her reign (1600-1), and found last December among the débris of a house in Cheapside opposite Bow Church. *Obv.*, profile to the left, with high-arched crown, flowing hair, wheel-shaped ruff, and embroidered partlet—ELIZABETH . D . G . ANG . FRA . ET . HI . REGINA. *Rev.*, royal arms surmounted by a crown, between the letters E . R.—SCVTVM . FIDEI . PROTEGET . EAM. M.M, on each side a woolpack. Weight, six pennyweights twenty and a half grains. Though the die for this sovereign was cut when the queen had reached her sixty-seventh birthday, she is represented as scarcely half that age, the countenance contrasting strongly and strangely with that on the Strawberry Hill gold coin (now in the British Museum), where she is old and ugly, the lips falling in as if from loss of teeth. Walpole describes this curious relic as "a fragment of one of Elizabeth's last broad pieces, representing her horribly old and deformed: an entire coin with this image is not known. It is usually supposed that the die was broken by her command, and that some workmen of the Mint cut out this morsel, which contains barely the face."¹

¹ A medal struck in 1588, with profile of Elizabeth, is described in this *Journal*, xiv, 281; and seals with her effigy are given in xii, 64, 145, 149.

Mr. Solly exhibited a beautifully executed miniature of the Duchess of Portsmouth. It represents her nearly full-faced, the left cheek being a little more shewn than the right. Her complexion is fair, her lips very full and ruddy, and her rich auburn hair dressed in large curls, with long lock descending on the left side as low as the breast. A string of pearls and beads cross the bosom from the right shoulder in manner of a belt. The gown is blue, with lace or muslin frill about its edge, and a black scarf striped with gold rolled up on the front of the body. The field of the miniature is brown. This portrait was formerly in the collection of Dr. Mead, and has been ascribed to Sir Peter Lely.

A full-length of the Duchess of Portsmouth by Lely is in the possession of the Duke of Richmond, and a half-length by the same artist in that of the Earl of Stamford and Warrington. At Hampton Court is her portrait by Henry Gascar. Her profile is well exhibited on the rare medalet inscribed *LVCIA DVCISSA PORTSMOVTHENSIS. Rev., Love with bow and arrow seated on the world, with the motto, OMNIA VINCIT.*

The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne's paper, "Illustrations of Domestic Manners during the reign of Edward the First." (See pp. 66-75 *ante.*)

JANUARY 22.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

J. H. Le Keux, Esq., of 32, Argyle Place, King's Cross, was elected an Associate.

Thanks were returned to the Numismatic Society for the *Numismatic Chronicle*, No. IV, new series, Dec. 1861, 8vo.

In reference to the discovery of a leaden coffin at Worcester cathedral, Mr. Syer Cuming, Hon. Sec., made the following remarks:—

"Without entering into the question of the antiquity of the practice, there is good ground for believing that during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries it was no uncommon thing to enclose the remains of the dead in lead, so as to exhibit, in some degree, the form of the person.

"Stow, in his *Survey of London* (ed. 1603, p. 112), speaking of the body of James IV of Scotland, buried at the monastery of Sheen in Surrey, after his death at Flodden in 1513, says—'I have been shown the same body, so lapped in lead, close to the head and body, thrown into a waste room amongst the old timber, lead, and other rubble. Since the which time workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head; and Lancelot Young, master glazier to her majesty, feeling a

sweet savour to come from thence,¹ and seeing the same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining—with the hair of the head and beard red—brought it to London to his house in Wood Street, where for a time he kept it for the sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that church (St. Michael) to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnel.' We are not told what was the ultimate fate of the remains of the royal body and its leaden case; but it may be feared that the latter was sold as old metal: but be this as it may, examples of similar receptacles still exist, and by which we can comprehend Stow's account of that of King James being '*close to the head and body*'.

"In the year 1847, when some alterations were made in the chapel formerly belonging to the college of the Holy Trinity at Arundel in Sussex, there was found a corpse closely enrolled in lead, and looking much like a swathed mummy; and about the knees was rudely graven an inscription stating it to be the remains of '*Mary Countes of Arundel, 1557, 20 October.*'²

"In a vault on the north side of Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster are deposited the remains of Henry Prince of Wales, who died in 1612, the leaden case in which his corpse is enwrapped being shaped close to his body, much in the style of that of the Countess of Arundel just referred to.

"Still more like a mummy case is the leaden coffin of Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Charterhouse, who died December 12, 1611. On its upper part is a mask, with square Egyptian beard, the arms by the sides, and on the breast a tablet with the words—1611. THOMAS SVTTON, ESQVIAR. A print of this curious object is given in the *Gent. Mag.*, where the editor observes in a footnote that—'This form of coffin, fitting to the corpse, was not uncommon at the period of Sutton's death. We have seen a representation of that of Sir John Spencer, the rich alderman of London, who died in 1610, and some others of nearly similar appearance at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate.'

"Fosbroke, in his *Encyclopædia of Antiquities, sub voce Coffins*, says that—'At Farley castle are some adapted to the form of the body like the cases of mummies, and bearing on the upper part the figure of a human face in flat relief.' And that these mummy-shaped cases of lead continued to be employed in England as late as the era of the Commonwealth is proved by the coffin of the illustrious William Harvey at Hempstead, Essex, who died June 3rd, 1657, and upon the breast of which is his name in great letters, just as the name of Sutton is given on his coffin in the Charterhouse.

¹ This fact brings to mind Leland's narrative of the desecration of the tomb of "fair Rosamund" at Godstow Nunnery. He says: "Her bones were *closid in lede*, and withyn that the bones were *closid in lether*. When it was openid ther was a very *swete smell* cam owt of it."

² For a print of this case see *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. iii, published by the Sussex Archaeological Society, 1851.

"The mark upon the leaden coffin lately brought to light in Worcester cathedral points to the seventeenth century as its period rather than the previous age, when more simple cases seem to have been in vogue."

The Chairman stated that his attention had been drawn by Mr. Marshall, Local Surveyor to the Board of Health at Bow, to the discovery of a portion of a sepulchral slab in digging sewer trenches near the ancient abbey of West Ham, and that he and Mr. E. Roberts had inspected the same and found it to be composed of Purbeck marble, in a decayed state, and had formed the foot of what is sometimes called a coffin lid. The extreme dimensions are—in length, twenty-six inches; breadth, twenty-three inches, slightly tapering; in thickness, eight inches and a quarter. On the top is the stem of a Calvary cross. On the sides are trefoils and a quatrefoil, dotted on the sloping part, each being different in form. The trefoils have stems, one being raised and the other depressed. The character of the work is neither pure nor good. The date appears to be about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Chairman also stated that upon making inquiry in relation to the ancient house at Chester, viewed by the Congress of the Association in 1849, and known as "God's Providence is mine own Inheritance," he had ascertained from Mr. Thomas Hughes that the Chester Archaeological Society had used every effort in their power to preserve this interesting relic from the destruction with which it was threatened, and that they had succeeded so far as to preserve the most important and interesting portions. The house is now *almost* down; all the back part has been taken away bodily, and the shell or front alone remains. It was originally intended to replace the old relic with a commonplace *brick front*; but at the instance of the Council of the Chester Archaeological Society that idea was abandoned, and under the auspices of the society's architectural secretary the old front is to be the front of the new structure. All the old oak is to be used again, and the front will be simply *thrown up*, so as to increase the height of the row and the rooms above.

The Chairman expressed his satisfaction that even so much had been accomplished, but could not help regretting the various antiquities which had been removed since the meeting of the Congress. It was the fear of Mr. Hughes, the Hon. Sec. of the Chester society, that in fifty years, should the present work of destruction go on, Chester would become a modern city, without one existing evidence to gratify the heart of the genuine antiquary.

Mr. Bohn exhibited a stone funereal tablet from Thebes of fine execution, the hieroglyphics being well cut. The subject represented consisted of two relatives presenting offerings of fruit, wine, etc., to their deceased relations.

Mr. Planché, Hon. Sec., read a paper on a remarkable tomb at
1862

Albrighton, co. Salop, examined by the Association at the Shrewsbury Congress. It is of the thirteenth *sæc.*, and Mr. Planché conjectured that it might be to commemorate Andrew Fitz Nicholas de Willy, slain at the battle of Evesham in 1265. The paper was illustrated by two elaborate and able drawings made by Mr. Hillary Davies, and it will appear in the *Collectanea Archæologica*.

FEBRUARY 12.

JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

H. M. Bunbury, Esq., of Marlstone House, Newbury, and William Jones, M.D., of 10, Lower Seymour Street, Portman Square, were elected Associates.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Author. History of the Parish of Wraysbury, by Gordon Gyll.
London, 1862. 4to.

To the Society. Transactions and Proceedings of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society. Vols. II and III, old series. Vols. I, II, and III, new series, Dublin, 1852-61. 8vo.

„ „ Journal of the Royal Dublin Society. Parts XX to XXXII, Dublin, 1861. 8vo.

„ „ Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 47. London, 1862. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1861. London. 8vo.

Mr. Charles Whitley, jun., communicated through Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., a notice respecting some Roman vases discovered a few weeks since at the side of Pauls Lane, at Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, by some labourers digging in a gravel pit. One of the vases is of blue clay, having a circular mouth and marked with an ornamentation of cross lines in the upper portion, and of dots on the lower. This discovery is interesting as being the first instance in which Roman antiquities have been found at Hoddesdon, and may lead to further search. Mr. Wright conjectures the deposit to have been a sepulchral one.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited an imperfect copy of "The Secretes of the reverende Maister Alexis of Piemount," which from some varieties compared with a perfect copy of what is esteemed the first complete edition, printed by Henry Bynneman for John Wright, London, A.D. 1568, would appear to have belonged to an earlier publication, probably one of the portions of the entire work.

Mr. Harpley exhibited some engravings of interest, representative of



the Wars of the Tartars and Chinese, drawn by the French Jesuits, and engraved in France by Le Bas. They were obtained from the Summer Palace at Pekin in the late war, and are believed to be of much rarity.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited various portraits of Edward VI. Mr. Cuming remarked that the Duke of Buccleuch possesses a miniature by Hans Holbein, representing Edward in his infancy, and in the Yarborough collection is a portrait of the prince, by an unknown artist, taken in the sixth year of his age. Most of the portraits now to be referred to were made subsequent to his accession to the throne; one by Holbein, exhibited by Mr. Holt of Clapham, is believed to represent the young monarch in mourning for his father. He has an oval face, of fair complexion, the eyes animated, with high arched brows, and little hair of a reddish hue. The flat black bonnet is decorated with pearls, and has a sable feather on the left side. The black tunic and waistcoat are embroidered with gold, and round the neck is a white frill. The field of the picture is green. It is covered with a flat crystal, mounted in gold, with convex back of brilliant German enamel of roses, tulips, and other flowers with green leaves. At the top is a loop by which the miniature could be suspended as a personal ornament. Diameter, one inch and seven-eighths. Among the Buccleuch miniatures are two of Edward closely resembling the one now produced, and of which Mr. Holt also exhibited photographs.

The next miniature of Edward is exhibited by Mr. H. G. Bohn. It is a spiritedly painted miniature, much in the style of Zuccherino, but apparently a copy from Holbein. The king is nearly full-face, his hair somewhat darker and rather more abundant than is seen in the majority of his pictures. His black bonnet is decked with a red feather, round the neck is a white frill, the black tunic is richly embroidered in gold, and a collar and order hang upon the breast. This beautiful memento is enclosed in a frame of white ivory adorned with large carbuncles.

From these full-faced portraits a profile one is now exhibited by Dr. Iliff. It is painted on an ivory plaque, four inches and a half high, by three and a half wide, and shews the king of fair and delicate complexion, with light reddish hair. His white bonnet is embroidered in red, and has a feather hanging from the left side: the neck frill and shirt are white, the tunic of a deep rich blue, and the field of the picture green. For beauty and delicacy of finish, this miniature may be classed with the works of Hilliard and Oliver, but it is the production of a Chinese artist; a copy made about the commencement of the present century of an *ad vivum* portrait by Holbein, taken towards the close of the king's career. Pictorial profiles of Edward VI, are of great rarity, but his side-face may be viewed in his several London statues, viz. that at Guildhall, at the Bluecoat School, where is also his bust, and at St. Thomas's Hospital; his mask may also be seen on the key-stone of the gateway of

Bridewell. Nearly all medals of Edward VI present either a full or three-quarter bust with feathered bonnet, an exception being found in the great coronation medal, with Hebrew and Greek legends on the reverse, and on the obverse of which is his portrait in his tenth year: a profile to the right, crowned and in armour, holding a sword in his right, and the orb in his left hand. Crowned profiles to the right also appeared in this king's first silver coinage, from the penny to the testoon, likewise on some of his gold money. Mr. Cuming exhibited various coins as affording good examples of both the profile and full-faced busts of the young king.

Mr. Cuming also exhibited one of the early buttons belonging to the dress of the scholars of Christ's Hospital, found in the Thames in 1846. It bears a full-faced bust of the king, with jeweled and feathered bonnet, and furred gown, open in front, in strict agreement with the portrait engraved by Simon Passe, which has the king's dying prayer beneath it.¹ *Legend—EDWARD VI. D.G.R.F.* The modern buttons of the school are of vastly inferior workmanship to this one, and bear a much smaller bust.

Mr. Trollope and Mr. Jackson of Christ's Hospital, laid before the meeting some examples of the old silver medals of Christ's Hospital, with full-faced busts of Edward, and one of more recent date, with his crowned and bonneted profile to the right, and also the large silver-gilt badge of the "*Amicable Society of Blues*," with a full-faced portrait of the king, of masterly execution, which differs somewhat from the one engraved in Pinkerton's "*Medals of England*," pl. iii. fig. 9. And with these may be associated a medallion portrait of Edward VI exhibited by Mr. Smith. Of the history of this profile nothing is known. It represents the king with his usual bonnet, but with a quilted tunic with high standing collar and decorated sleeve of unfrequent occurrence. This waistcoat is buttoned down the front, and on the breast hangs a jewel.

In addition to the portraits now exhibited, the following may be cited as among the more important pictures of Edward VI now extant. One at Windsor by Holbein, representing the king to the knees, and a distant view of a royal manor. One in the British Museum, in which he appears in black bonnet, red tunic, fur tippet, and trunk hose—presented to the nation in 1768, by Mrs. Mary Macmorren. A half-length by Holbein in the court room of Christ's Hospital, standing beneath a canopy of cloth-of-gold, and wearing a bonnet with white feather, crimson tunic with half-sleeves trimmed with ermine, white waistcoat embroidered in gold, and in his right hand a dagger with blue tassel. In the hall of the same establishment is a picture of the king granting the charter of incorporation.

¹ Dassier has copied this portrait for the one in the series of medals of English kings.

In the court room of Bridewell is the famous picture where the king is in the act of delivering the charter of endowment to the mayor, Sir George Barnes. And in the chapel of this hospital was another portrait, regarding which Stow (ed. 1633) says—"Close by the pulpit hangs the picture of King Edward the Sixt, with these lines under it—

"This Edward of faire memory, the sixt,
In whom with greatnesse goodnesse was commixt,
Gave this bridewell, a palace in old times,
For a chastising-house of vagrant crimes."

By the liberality of Sir Christopher Clitherow, a picture of King Edward may yet be seen in the east window of the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, Leadenhall Street. It is a full-length effigy, with a book beneath inscribed *Verbum Dei*.¹

Edward VI appears in *armour* on his great seal, on his coronation medal, on some of his gold pieces, on his crown and half-crown, and also in an early Dutch engraving, and that he was possessed of such martial dress is scarcely to be questioned; but where is that armour to be found? for that which bears his name in the Tower of London has no right to be considered his. There is in truth little beyond coins and medals, pictures and statues, now left in attestation of the personality of this gentle and pious sovereign. His corpse indeed still rests near that of his grandfather at Westminster, but the altar-tomb which once marked its burial-place vanished during the Protectorate. But the name of King Edward VI is so blended with love and learning, charity and grace, that it will never pass away—the hospitals of St. Thomas, Bridewell, and of Christ, preserving his memory, and proclaiming his princely goodness to all-coming time.

Professor Buckman, of Cirencester, forwarded through Mr. Savory, a brief account of recent discoveries made at Corinium, and laid before the Association two specimens of sculpture there found together with a bronze Mercury. These notes will be arranged and the figures engraved in a future number of the Journal.

Mr. Wakeman forwarded some observations on the ancient Priory of Monmouth, which, with representations of Mediæval tiles, discovered on the site of the Priory, will be found in vol. 1, pp. 285-294 of the *Collectanea Archæologica*.

¹ For a silver box with bust of Edward VI, see *Journal*, x, 385; and for seals with his effigy, see *Journal*, xii, 223; xiv, 315.

FEBRUARY 26.

NATHANIEL GOULD, Esq., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited various antiquities discovered near Canterbury. In May last, he says, in digging for gravel at Bigberry Hill, about two miles from Canterbury, at a distance of seven feet from the surface, which originally had been two feet higher (a wood which stood thereon having been grubbed up), the labourers came upon some iron-work much broken. It had formed portions of rings, rods, hooks, etc.; and with these were some curious triangular bricks, very imperfectly burnt, which formed a circle, their apices being apparently united at one time, as if to keep them close together by a cord, three holes being bored through each brick to admit it. The soil was a deep gravel, and the deposit was made in disturbed ground, as beneath it was a layer of black soil from an inch to an inch and a half deep, and extending nearly twelve feet,—probably a layer of turf which had become decomposed. Some pieces of an urn were found, but no bones, though there might have been some in the vessel before it was broken. Near to them was picked up a very perfect arrow-head of flint.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming regarded the bulk of the relics discovered at Bigberry Hill as undoubtedly appertaining to a Roman fire-hearth and its culinary furniture. The triangular bricks which formed the circular hearth are, however, of unusual character, apparently being made of ill-burnt loam, which may be almost crumbled between the fingers. The bricks measure about six inches and a quarter on either side, are three inches in thickness; and the three holes in each are half an inch in diameter. By comparing the major part of the fragmentary iron with the pot-hook and hanger exhumed, in 1832, at Stanford Bury, Bedfordshire,¹ we can clearly discern what portions constituted the lofty *tripus*, and what the suspending hook with its rings and twisted rods. And we find also the most curious bail-handle of a caldron or boiler with its hooked shaft to hang on the lower hook of the *tripus*. Placing these several portions together, and allowing for the missing parts and body of the caldron, Mr. Cuming estimated the height of the *tripus* at upwards of five feet, and therefore much taller than the one found at Stanford Bury, which measured four feet three inches to its top. One of the most perfect objects met with at Bigberry is the large knife, measuring (including the tang) nearly ten inches and a half in length. It is broad and concave at the back, resembling examples discovered at the Roman castrum on Hod Hill near Blandford. (See *Journal*, iii, 97). There is another

¹ Given in the *Graphic Illustrator* by Mr. Brayley, and referred to by Mr. C. R. Smith in *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 28; and for general remarks on pot-hooks and hangers, Mr. Cuming in *Journal*, viii, 74.

iron article which demands special mention,—a powerful snaffle-bit, with bridle-rings three inches and a quarter in diameter.¹ The absence of any *débris* of a dwelling would seem to shew that the fire-hearth was laid, and the *tripus* raised upon the spot for some temporary purpose,—possibly for the service of a camp; and the horse-bit may, perhaps, be taken as indicative of military occupation. It may be urged that the urn points to a sepulchral interment. The vessel, however, appears to belong to another age than that of the iron fragments; the paste bespeaking a Celtic origin, though the ornamentation is peculiar. It therefore throws no light either on the period or the purpose of the inhumation of the other relics. Mr. Brent speaks of the flint blade of an arrow having been picked up near the spot which has yielded these objects, amongst which Mr. Cuming also has detected a portion of the rim of a rude urn referrible to the stone period; so that there are within the limited area of a few feet, objects of the primeval, Celtic, and Roman periods.

Mr. Blashill presented a drawing he made during the last summer at Compeigne. It is a font of black marble, now much dilapidated and disused, and is in the church of St. Antoine. In style of execution it corresponds with the well-known example at Winchester, and may be arranged with others of that class. It will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. Baskcomb exhibited a plug-bayonet, the sconce of a girandole, a tobacco-box, and an apple-scoop, which were found concealed in an ancient dwelling at Deptford, Kent. The tenement is of considerable historic interest, it having been occupied by Peter the Great whilst working in Deptford Dockyard in 1698.² This house, which belonged to the fifteenth century, was situated in Hughes' Fields, with much other property, which has been for some years in dispute, and having fallen into a dangerous condition, was ordered by Mr. Traill, the magistrate at the Greenwich Police Court, with others to be pulled down, which was done about twelve months since.

The plug-bayonet is of the time of Charles II. The cross-guard and cap of the wooden haft are of brass, and the flat blade (eleven inches and three-quarters long) bears on one side the manufactory mark of a profile bust to the right with rayed crown. Some of the devices in the Small-Arms Armoury of the Tower of London, previous to its destruction in 1841, were composed of plug-bayonets similarly stamped.³

The sconce of the girandole is of turned oak, the socket rising from a flat disc, full three inches in diameter, the under side being somewhat top-

¹ Mr. Cuming has the half of a similar snaffle-bit found with Roman remains in Moorfields.

² Peter the Great also inhabited Sayers Court whilst at Deptford.

³ In Mr. Cuming's collection are two plug-bayonets of the time of Charles II, sold with other pieces of old iron from the Tower of London. One bears the same stamp as the above, the other a cross and star. They are both probably of Spanish fabric, the crowned bust being the arms of Arragon.

shaped, and having a fragment of a stem upwards a quarter of an inch in diameter. Its date is of the second half of the seventeenth century. In the Bernal Collection was a pair of wooden candlesticks, twelve inches high, inlaid with pearl-shell, and having hexagonal star-shaped feet. In the Museum of Scottish Antiquaries is an old candlestick of carved wood, mounted with brass, used by Lady Lovat whilst living at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh. The only candlesticks formerly allowed to the scholars of the Charterhouse were made entirely of wood; but sconces of wood are rarely heard of. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were generally either of metal or glass.

The tobacco box is in the form of a ship's hulk, carved in oak, and closed in a puzzling manner. To open it, one half of the flat cover must be turned aside, the other half pushed back a little, and then turned as the first, by which means access is obtained to the contents.

The apple-scoop is seven inches and a half long, apparently carved out of cherry-wood, the whole surface, with the exception of the interior of the blade, elaborately decorated with bands of zigzags; whilst the flat end of the handle is fashioned into a whistle, and on the back of the scoop are cut the letters E.B., 1682. With regard to these letters Mr. Baskcomb says, "there is no doubt they are the initials of Edward Blundell, who was, according to a pedigree, born in this house in the year 1623; his father, Shadrack Blundell, being the owner in fee and then living there, was possessed of considerable property in Deptford, which is now in dispute in the Court of Chancery by the descendants of the family.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that the word *apple-scoop* is not to be found in our dictionaries, and that the industrious Fosbroke is silent respecting it. Columella (xii, 45, 4) and Pliny (*H. N.*, xii, 54) both speak of an implement of bone or ivory called *cultor* and *cultellus*, as being employed in eating fruit, which may really be the object in question. The most primitive apple-scoops which have reached our days are of bone, and for form may be compared to the hollow chisels of the stone period. Mr. Cuming exhibited an old example, wrought of the metatarsal bone of a sheep, the proximal end and a portion of one side of the shaft being cut away to produce the gouge-like blade, above which is engraved a dice-box shaped figure resembling one of the mason's marks seen in ancient buildings.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century apple-scoops of fanciful design seem to have come into vogue. One of ivory of the time of Elizabeth or James is given in our *Journal* (i, 245), the handle of which represents a jester, from whose cap rises a small tobacco-stopper, and across the front of the image are the words FRVIT NOVVEAV. Only a portion of the blade remains, but fully sufficient to establish the real purpose of the implement. The apple-scoop produced by Mr. Baskcomb, Mr. Cuming thought of much interest from its combination with a whistle,

and may have been employed for a "servant's call" before the general introduction of house bells. This, however, is not a solitary instance of the "call" being coupled with another object; for in the Bernal Collection was a whistle and tobacco-stopper in one, formed of silver, representing Charles II in the well-known cavalier costume of the period. Bone and ivory seem to have been the substances generally used in the manufacture of apple-scoops; they also occur of silver, but one of wood must be esteemed a novelty.

Mr. Lionel Oliver exhibited a finely carved three-quarter bust in ivory of Sir John Hawkins, a distinguished seaman in the reign of Elizabeth. It has neither name nor initial of artist, and is of the seventeenth century.

Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., made the following communication:

"In the diminutive, very old, and highly interesting church of Tretire, in Herefordshire, is preserved a Roman altar, which had at an early period been formed into a holy water stoup, which purpose it served in one of the two churches contained in the small and sequestered parish of Tretire, called Michael Church, whence it was taken some years ago, when the church was repaired. The Rev. John Webb, the well-known antiquary, and formerly incumbent of that parish, one day observed it lying at the door of a cottage inhabited by the clerk, and on inquiry learnt that it had been kept behind the church door time out of mind as an article of no use, except to the village doctress, who was skilled in preparing simples, and occasionally took it out when she wanted to pound her herbs, using it as a mortar. Mr. Webb imagined at first that it was the rude capital of a pillar, having a square hole cut in the top, and he thought he perceived the remains of the shaft below; but on nearer inspection he saw that it had an inscription on the front, and as he conjectured at once that it had been used as a stoup for holy water at the entrance of the church, he caused it to be removed for security to his church of Tretire, where it now stands in the north corner of the chancel on the right hand of the communion table. It had been broken, and the upper part only was first found; but Mr. Webb subsequently discovered the other part, and the two have been now properly joined together. Great importance was immediately attached to this monument, for it was rather hastily concluded that the inscription was a Christian dedication, and as the latter part of the first line had been chipped away, it was read **DEO TRIVNI**, and believed to be a most important contemporary monument of the great Pelagian controversy; but it would not be easy to point out an example of such a formula of dedication in a Christian inscription of the middle ages. To those well acquainted with this particular class of antiquities, this monument presents unmistakable characteristics of a Roman altar. The inscription must be read as follows:

DEO TRIV . .
BECCICVS DON
AVIT ARAM.

"The mutilation of the name of the deity is unfortunate; but the most probable conjecture seems to be that which explains it as Deo Trivii, to the god of the cross-roads. There were among the ancients many deities who presided over the roads, and it is very natural that in such a district as this, close upon the forest of Dean, the great Roman iron-mining district, which was covered with roads great and small, the roads should be placed under their protection. I think I have read of an inscription to a DEO BIVII. At Mayence, as we are informed by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, there is an altar dedicated to the Bivii, Trivii, and Quadrivii, that is, to the deities who presided over those descriptions of roads, by a centurion of the twenty-second legion; and another *Genio Devii*, to the god who presided over the bye-ways; and an altar was found at Greta-bridge, in Yorkshire, dedicated DEO QVI VIAS ET SEMITAS COMMENTVS EST. *Dedit aram* and *donavit aram*, are usual forms of dedication of Roman altars; an instance is given in Grüter (vol. i, p. dcvii, No. 2), in which both are combined, *dedit donavitque*. Some ecclesiastic of the middle ages, in want of material for a holy-water stoup, found this altar, and caused it to be cut into its present form, and the workman, caring little for the inscription, erased the final *m* of the word *aram*, and the latter letters of the name of the divinity to whom it was dedicated. I think it the only instance in this country where a Roman altar has thus been adopted for any purpose connected with Christian worship; but Mr. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea*, has pointed out a similar use of a Roman altar, originally dedicated to Jupiter, but since formed into a baptismal font, at Halinghem, in the Pas de Calais (France)."

Mr. S. Wood exhibited a Chinese casket, sixteen inches and a half wide, by thirteen inches deep, and five inches and a half high, outside measure. It is made of wood, japanned, the flat top and sides veneered with plaques of agalmatolite, divided into panels, some portions being engraved with figures of the horse, spotted deer and kylin, vases, tripods, high dishes, etc.; whilst other parts are wrought in relief with three boys playing leap-frog, courting subjects, fish, shells, and fruit, among which appear the citrus called *Fó-show* or *hand of Fó*, from its finger-like growth. Some of these devices are painted over in bright colours, and the brazen lock-plate and hinges are richly graven with leaves, etc. Mr. Cuming has a Chinese cassolette, in which the agalmatolite top and sides are perforated to exhibit a silvery ground, and the top is further adorned with red and green paste and a projecting image of a kylin.

Mr. Faulkner, F.S.A., exhibited some bridle bits of iron, two spurs,

and two pieces of pottery, found at Wickham, near Banbury, Oxon. The iron fragments belong to the seventeenth century, the pottery is of a white colour.

The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Ely, through the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, exhibited a very beautiful reliquary of the fifteenth century, which was referred for particular description and illustration.

Miss Hartshorne transmitted for inspection a splendid signet ring presented to her by the Bishop of Ely, and believed to have originally belonged to Henrietta Maria, consort of King Charles I. It is of massive gold, set with a sapphire of oval form, graven with a shield charged with the royal arms, surmounted by the crown, and flanked with the initials M. R.; the broad part of the hoop on either side the gem decorated with an incised rose brilliant with red and green enamel. This trinket differs from the queen's ring already described in the *Journal* (xvii, 223), in several particulars. In the present specimen the signet is oval, held in the collet by the smooth bezel turning over the edge, and the letter on the dexter side of the shield shews but faint trace of a transverse stroke. In the former ring the jewel is lozenge-shaped, secured in the collet by the curved points of the bezel, and the M has a distinct bar across its centre, producing the initials in cipher of Henrietta Maria. There seems, however, little difference in age between these two rings, and both may have been the property of the same sovereign.

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., read a paper on the Expense Roll of Joanna de Valencia, Countess of Pembroke, mother of Adomar de Valence. (See pp. 145-152 *ante.*)

MARCH 12.

SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BART., M.P., M.A., C.B., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

Henry T. Riley, Esq., M.A., St. Peter's Square, Hammersmith, and Clarence Hopper, Esq., of Albert Place, Denmark Road, Camberwell, were elected Associates.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Author. Colchester Castle shown to have once been the Templed Citadel which the Roman Colonists raised to their Emperor Claudius, at Colonia Camulodunum. By the Rev. H. Jenkins, B.D. London, 1861. 8vo.

To the Publisher. The Gentleman's Magazine for March. London, 1862. 8vo.

Lieutenant F. L. Ingall transmitted for inspection, javelin-blades, remains of fictile vessels, and tobacco-pipes, exhumed from the ancient

mounds of North America. The javelin-blades are leaf-shaped, varying from two inches one-eighth to three inches in length, and rather rudely chipped out of grey hornstone: they were found with pottery near Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, in 1834. The pottery includes portions of urns or cups discovered at Green Bay, Lake Michigan, 1830, Penetanguashene, 1835, and in the townships of Vespra, Upper Canada, 1837. The paste of these vessels consists of a sandy clay mingled with angular fragments of quartz: it is of a dingy brown colour, tolerably well baked, smooth on the surface, and ornamented with incised lines and dots. A well-formed earthen pipe-head from Vespra, and the trumpet-shaped mouth of a bottle from the same locality, are objects of interest. The latter is made of fine rich-brown clay, finished with much care, and resembling some of the productions of Peru.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited two examples of the Parisian forgeries in lead, professed to have been recovered from the Seine, and which a few years since excited much interest among the archaeologists of France. Both are male figures wearing somewhat conical hats, and broad-heeled shoes, but habited in different fashions; the tallest (three inches and a half high) being equipped in a long vest and pectoral cross, having the figures 153, standing out in large *Arabic numerals* on the breast. The right hand is placed round a long cross-staff which rests on the arm; and the left hand is on the waist girdle. The second image is three inches and three-eighths high, and represents a jester, his dress ornamented with cascabels, and he has a human-headed bauble resting on his right arm. These figures would seem to have been wrought out of the solid metal, then bruised and pecked to give to them an air of antiquity. Mr. Forman has three objects from the same workshop, affirmed to have been discovered in making the new street, Rue Rivoli, Paris, 1854. They consist of a small oblong shrine with an image within it: an ecclesiastic with a crozier; and a figure holding a saw, perhaps intended for St. Simon or St. James the less.

Mr. Cuming read a paper on signacula found in London, which will be printed in a future Journal.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited some Devon and Exeter cloth seals of lead, accompanied with the following note:—

"The woollen manufacture of the West of England though of remote antiquity does not seem to have been held in much account until the immigration of the Flemish weavers in the fourteenth century, when '*Devon kerseys*' soon became known throughout the country. By a statute passed the 27th of Edward III, Exeter was constituted one of the fifteen 'staples' or marts where wool could alone be sold, and where a 'mayor of the staple,' was appointed to seal every sack disposed of, and enforce the custom duty levied thereon. The seal of this functionary for Exeter bears on it a castle, the portcullis raised, and within the

gate a lion passant guardant; the legend being—*s. MAIORIS STAPVLE CIVITATIS EXON.*¹

“Another officer of perhaps still higher importance was the king’s alnager or aulnegar, whose duty it was, either in person or by deputy, to examine the cloth as to its length, width, and quality, and if perfect to affix a seal upon it as a voucher of its goodness. This office, after existing for nearly three centuries and a half, was abolished by statute 11 and 12, W. III, c. 20.² But leaden seals continued as before, to be attached to cloth by many manufacturers, a fashion not yet obsolete. The seals now produced are apparently of the seventeenth century. They are of small size; the legend on each being inclosed by a pearl circlet. The first has on it the word *DEVON* above the initials *W*, and these initials are found on the next example, but beneath them is the name *EXON*. The third seal has the word *E.x.o.n.* with a dot between each letter, and a flower or star of five points in the centre of the field. The fourth has also *E.x.o.n.*, but instead of the central star are the numerals *7.3.* The fifth seal is of a square form bearing a star of five points in the centre, and the word *EXON* above, with the figures *77* beneath. The numerals on these two seals may imply the years *1673* and *1677*, for in the seventeenth century dates were frequently epitomized by dropping the thousands and hundreds, as may be seen on many of the traders’ tokens of the period to which these specimens are assigned. These seals or “*cloth marks*” were, with others of Canterbury, Norwich, &c., obtained from the Thames near London Bridge in 1846, and may have fallen from the premises of some one carrying on business above the rolling river; for that dealers in cloth made the old bridge their habitat is proved by James Dunkin, woollen draper, living at No. 22, and Timothy Drake following the same calling at No. 38, at the time of the great fire, in February 1633.

“The foregoing seals are of a smaller size and differ in design from those exhibited by Col. Harding at our late Congress. One of these has on it a bear passant chained, above *EXON*, beneath *JOHN BARTLET*. A second displays the same device, but is the mark of “*S. Eveden & Compy.*” A third has two sheep passant one above the other, encircled by the words *GEORGE DVNSFORD TIVERTON*.

Mr. Lionel Oliver exhibited a grant of arms by Charles V to his secretary, John de Langhe and his legitimate children, of either sex, and their heirs and descendants for ever; dated at Brussels, 27th August, 1531, in the eleventh of the empire and the sixteenth of his reign. This grant, after setting forth the titles of the emperor, which occupy four lines,

¹ In our *Journal* (vi, 149) is an engraving of the bronze seal of the mayor of the Staple of Chichester. Device, a crown with the letter S on each side; the whole within a quatrefoil. Legend, *s. MAIORIS STAPVL CIESTRIENSIS.*

² An engraving of what is considered to be the seal of the king’s alnager for Wiltshire, is given in the *Gent. Mag.*, June 1787, p. 459.

states as follows: "Dignum Cæsareâ nostra Celsitudine et Consentaneum arbitramur eos qui vitæ ornamenti, præclaris virtutibus atque erga nos officiis præstant, nostrâ munificentia et liberalitate vicissim prosequi meritisque honoribus et domus exornare,"—proceeds to give a grant of arms, "nobis dilecto Joanni de Laughe," etc. The arms are beautifully emblazoned on the parchment, which bears the signature of the emperor, but has unfortunately lost the imperial seal. On the back, "Hoc mandatum Cæsareæ et Catholiceæ M^{is} proprium Alexander Schweif."

Dr. W. V. Pettigrew exhibited the tiller of Queen Elizabeth's row-boat, as it was denominated whilst in the museum of its former owner, Mr. T. Dawson, of Grasmere, Cumberland; at whose sale, at Christie's, it was disposed of in 1851. It is of wood, forty-six inches in length, perforated with rich scroll-work decorated with green and gold, and carved on either side with a fox pursued by two hounds, followed by a huntsman carrying a spear and blowing a horn. Along one edge are representations of five serpents. It is said that this tiller belonged to the vessel in which Elizabeth visited Tilbury Fort in 1588, and that it was obtained "from the government stores." Without questioning the statement, it must be observed that the costume of the two figures forbids its assignment to an earlier period than the middle of the seventeenth century; so that if it really be a part of the queen's boat, it must have supplied the place of the original tiller. The carving is clever, and is probably Spanish workmanship.

Mr. C. Ainslie exhibited a gold crown of James I, found in Bagnigge Wells Road. *Ov.*, crowned profile to the right,—IACOBVS . D. G . MAG . BRIT . FRAN . ET . HIB . REX .; *rev.*, royal arms surmounted by a crown between the letters I. R.,—HENRICVS ROSAS REGNA IACOBVS (alluding to the union of the two roses by Henry VII, and the two kingdoms by James). Weight, 1 dwt. 14 grs.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited an impression of the seal of Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I). It is octagonal, having a file or label across the royal arms, which are flanked by palm branches and surmounted by a coronet placed between the letters C. P.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited an impression of the seal of King Charles I. It is of the same form as the above, bearing the royal arms between the letters C. R. surrounded by the garter and surmounted by the crown.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A., read the following paper—

A NOTE ON SOME UNPUBLISHED WORKS OF WILLIAM BASSE,
THE AUTHOR OF THE EARLIEST ELEGY ON SHAKESPEARE.

The name of Basse would hardly have been familiar, even to the advanced student of our early English literature, had he not, in a moment of enthusiasm, thus wrote, in lines far superior to all else that

emanated from his pen, as soon as the intelligence of the death of Shakespeare reached him—lines which are not so well known that they may not be repeated; and even to those who are acquainted with them they are fresh and pleasing at the fiftieth reading—

“ Renowned Spenser ! lie a thought more nigh
 To learned Chaucer ; and, rare Beaumont, lie
 A little nearer Spenser, to make room
 For Shakespeare in your three-fold, four-fold tomb.
 To lie all four in one bed make a shift
 Until Doomsday ; for hardly will a fifth
 Betwixt this day and that by Fate be slain,
 For whom your curtains may be drawn again.
 If your precedence in death doth bar
 A fourth to have place in your sepulchre,
 Under this carved marble of thine own,
 Sleep, rare tragedian, Shakespeare, sleep alone !
 Thine unmolested peace, unshared cave,
 Possess as lord, not tenant, of the grave ;
 That unto us or others it may be
 Honour hereafter to be laid by thee.”

These lines were not printed with the other verses of a similar character prefixed to the folio edition of Shakespeare; but that they were extremely popular is manifest from the large number of copies of them found in early manuscript poetical miscellanies. I cannot have collated fewer than twenty old copies of it; and I believe there are five or six in the British Museum, and as many, if not more, in the Bodleian Library. Ben Jonson, indeed, alludes to them as familiar to all readers in that noble testimony to Shakespeare which alone suffices to extinguish the possibility of any lengthened ill-feeling having existed between the two dramatists—

—— “ Soul of the age,
 The applause, delight, the wonder of our stage,
 My Shakespeare, rise ! I will not lodge thee by
 Chaucer or Spenser ; or bid Beaumont lie
 A little further to make thee a room ;
 Thou art a monument without a tomb,
 And art alive still while thy book doth live,
 And we have wits to read and praise to give.”

These verses prove that Basse's elegy was well known as early as the year 1623; but a copy of it was found by Malone in a MS. written soon after 1621, entitled, “ Basse his Elegie on poett Shakespeare, who died in April, 1616.” From the last words, Malone well observes that it may be inferred that these lines were written recently after Shakespeare's death, when the month and year in which he died were well known. At a more distant period the month would probably have been

forgotten; and that was not an age of such curiosity as would have induced a poet to search the Stratford register. From the address to Spenser and Chaucer, it should seem that when these verses were composed the writer thought it probable that a cenotaph would be erected to Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey.

The MS. of Basse's works recently discovered is entitled, "The Pastorals and other workes of William Basse, never before imprinted, 1653, Imprinted at Oxford," folio; in fact, a collection prepared for the press when the author was a very old man, but never published. The manuscript is undoubtedly that alluded to in Bathurst's *Life and Remains*, for immediately following the title is Dr. Bathurst's poem addressed to Basse, the same which was printed by Warton. The first portion of the manuscript contains "Clio, or the first Muse in nine Eglogues in honour of nine vertues," dedicated "to the Right Honourable Sir Richard Wenman," in whose family Basse was a retainer. One cannot say much for the poetical merit of these eclogues, but they contain some curious allusions. Of greater value as a composition is the next article in the manuscript, a poem entitled, "Urania, the Woman in the Moone, in foure Cantoes or Quarters, by William Basse," dedicated "to the honorable vertuous and renowned lady, the Lady Penelope Dynham"; but this was only a second dedication, for the poem was one of our author's earlier productions, and had received the approbation of Prince Henry—

"This Muse's story, that a Prince's ears
Did once vouchsafe to grace, and such a one
As in his tyme, and at his youthfull yeares
In greatnes match'd with goodnes was alone."

Next, we have the "Metamorphosis of the Wallnut-tree of Borestall," in three cantos; and the volume concludes with a religious drama, entitled, "The Fall of Angels, or Man in Innocency," the last being written in a different hand, and unaccompanied with the distinct evidence of Basse's authorship which we find in the other pieces. It is singular that the contents of this curious volume should, with the single exception of the short poem by Bathurst, consist of works by Basse hitherto unknown to poetical antiquaries; and that the pieces by him heretofore known, such as the Shakesperian elegy, Polyhymnia, etc., should not be included.

As none of the poems in the volume are worth entire republication, and it is difficult to select extracts that would be fully understood without a reference to the context, perhaps we cannot do better than give the poetical dedication to the prince which accompanies the copy of *Urania*, a composition which affords a favourable specimen of Basse's style—

"When Cynthia, sitting on her silver throne,
First told my muse the story you shall heare,

She strictly charge'd her not to make it knowne
 For any cause to any mortal eare
 'Till it was related, as it once should be,
 To some rare prince of royll progenie.

“ The reason was, it seemes, that since hercyn
 Some actions are of gods, and passions shewne,
 She thought it fit that to some nearest kin
 To them, great prince, it should at first be knowne.
 Tender alliance, and a princely brest
 To heare and judge of such occurrents best.

“ This muse, therefore, as Cynthia did her binde,
 Hath safely kept this secret undisclos'd
 Till now, that in your gracious forme, a minde
 She findes, sir, so celestially dispos'd,
 That she is full resolved it is you
 The Delian queene directed her unto.

“ May 't please you then to lend the moon your light,
 Thus shadow'd under these ecliptique lines,
 Your sun-like glories shall not shine lesse bright,
 But more that Cynthia by your lustre shines.
 And to your greatnesse purchase more diviness,
 By more devoting her unto your highness.”

As I see nothing superior to these verses in the whole volume, it will probably be conceded that the single specimen will suffice. Without being above mediocrity, they exhibit a power which would entitle the author to a place amongst the minor poets of the Shakesperian era, and that is pretty well as much as one can say. Basse, but for one little poem, would never have ranked higher than as an inferior Breton, whose style he sometimes appears to imitate. But for that poem—only that—the mention of his name would hardly excite curiosity. Those few lines, however, have endeared his memory to Shakesperian readers, and invested all particulars respecting him and his works with interest—for do they not refer to the first English writer who paid an eloquent tribute of respect and affection to our beloved author—the myriad-minded?

Mr. E. Levien, F.S.A., read a paper “On some Unpublished Documents relating to the Captivity of Charles I.”, which will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., exhibited a photograph of one of the entrances of a Roman lead mine, viewed by the Association at Shelve Hill, Salop, on occasion of the Congress at Shrewsbury in 1860 (see *Journal*, vol. xvii, for that year, pp. 212, 213).

MARCH 26.

GEORGE VERE IRVING, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

William G. Marshall, Esq., of Colney Hatch, was elected an associate.
Thanks were voted for the following presents:

To the Canadian Institute. For their Journal. No. 37. Jan. 1862. 8vo.
To the Authors. Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture. Nos. 24,
25, 26, 27. By F. T. Dollman and J. R. Jobbins. 4to. 1861-2.

Mr. C. Ainslie exhibited a delicate (wedding?) ring of gold, weighing but seven grains and a half, consisting of a hoop five-eighths of an inch diameter, with a little heart in front, on which is stamped a V or a reversed A,—the initial, according to tradition, of its original Scottish owner, a Lady Arrol (qy. Errol). That finger-rings bearing the device of a heart were worn in Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is apparent from portraits of that period, and discoveries made from time to time. In the *Gent. Mag.* (March 1831, p. 209) is engraved a silver ring found at Denebury Hill near Andover, which has on its front a winged heart surmounted by a coronet, which is conjectured to have belonged to the Douglas family; and there is preserved in the Museum of Scottish Antiquaries, at Edinburgh, an ancient ring with the device of two hands holding a heart, which is stated to have been given to Flora Macdonald by the young Pretender when parting from her. This may also appertain to the Douglas family, and refer to the hands of Sir James de Douglas bearing the heart of King Robert to Jerusalem. In February 1857 there was exhibited to the Association a silver ring of the early part of the seventeenth century, on the front of which was wrought a heart, the hoop on either side being perforated. Most of the old Scottish heart-shaped rings were of silver: the example in gold is therefore an interesting exception.

Mr. Geo. Maw, F.S.A., exhibited three articles discovered between fifty and sixty years since in pulling down an old building in King-street, Norwich. They consist of—1st, a letter of thirty-one lines, dated Feb. 1615, addressed to his “good cosen” by Martin Calthorp, informing her of his ill state of health, and that he sends 20d. by Mr. Watson, “to distribute to the midwife and nurses as you thinke fittest, knowinge that women can best judge in this case.” In a postscript he adds: “Colonel Crumwell for certaine was alive and well since the printed newes of his beinge slaine, and there was no such duell in Holland.”—2nd, iron spur, the neck bent at an acute angle; and the five-spiked rowel measuring two inches and three-eighths diameter. Date, end of the reign of Charles I.—3rd, toilet implement of silver, six inches long, apparently combining in itself an ear-pick, tooth-pick, and bodkin for tape and



bobbin. It is engraved on either side with roses, etc., and on it is punctured E. A., 1654; but the implement may be half a century earlier than this date. Ancient bodkins of bone, ivory, and bronze, have been found in Italy and the Roman provinces. Most of the middle-age bodkins that have reached us are either of brass or silver. As early as the sixteenth century they were engraved with mottos and posies.

Mr. Wakeman forwarded an impression of an apparently new type of a coin of Carausius, which is in the museum at Caerleon, where it was discovered. *Obl.*, profile to the right, cut off at the neck; the rayed crown having three spikes, and the ends of the ribbon flowing at the back. The legend reads, IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG VRICVS. The latter word, Mr. Wakeman suggests, may be a contracted form of *Britannicus*, the *v* and *b* being convertible letters in the British language. The *rev.*, standing figure of the emperor holding a spear and orb,—SAECVLI FELICITAS. This legend also occurs on another *rev.* of Carausius bearing a female figure. Mr. Roach Smith does not think the letters VRICVS belong to the legend or inscription of Carausius. He has seen coins of that emperor struck upon pieces of Tetricus, and he thinks this may probably be another example.¹

Mr. Hensman exhibited a fine example of the angel of Henry VIII. *Obl.*, St. Michael trampling on the Dragon, and thrusting into its mouth a staff headed with a cross-crosslet—HENRIE VIII . DI . GRA . REX . AGL . & FR. *Rev.*, a ship, with a cross for the mast, beneath the arms of which is the letter H and a rose, and on the shaft is fixed the royal arms, PER CRVSE TVA SALVA NOS XPE REDE. M.M. on each side a portcullis crowned. Weight, three pennyweights eight grains. (For angel of Richard III see *Journal*, i, 268.)

Mr. T. Ingall exhibited a three-quarter bust of the Saviour, painted in oil on a thin plaque of alabaster, apparently a portion of a much larger field. A slight ray surrounds the head, the flowing hair and beard are of an auburn hue, and the garment of a dull reddish-brown colour. It is believed to be the work of a Spanish artist of the close of the sixteenth or commencement of the seventeenth century. The exhibition was accompanied by the following remarks by Mr. H. Syer Cuming

ON PAINTINGS ON STONE.

Writers on art-history are well-nigh silent regarding pictures on stone, yet there is ample proof that such pictures existed both in classic and mediæval times, not only in Europe but in the East. I do not here refer to mural paintings as architectural decorations, but to such as could be moved at pleasure and placed in tombs, temples, and dwellings, as sacred and domestic furniture. The artists of China and India

¹ See Mr. J. E. Lee's Catalogue of the Caerleon Museum, p. 83, note. For other rare types of Carausius, see *Journal*, iv, 263, 286.

have employed plaques of alabaster, and panes of talc, from a remote period, both substances being well adapted for the reception of colour. Painted tablets of calcareous stone are sufficiently abundant in the sepulchres of Egypt. The researches at Herculaneum brought to light three or four monochromatic pictures on marble slabs, one of the best known examples of such ancient pictures being a group of girls playing with *Tali*, exhumed at Resina.¹ It is probable that the practice of painting on stone never entirely ceased in Italy, and, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the artists not only of Italy but those of other countries occasionally exercised their skill on various stones, and on glass made in imitation of some of the more costly kinds. At Strawberry-hill there was a spirited picture of St. George in *lapis lazuli*, by Giuseppe d'Arpino; at Fonthill there was also one of the same material, of the Adoration of the Magi, by James Stella; and in the Portland Museum an example portraying the Infant Jesus sleeping on a carpet and cushion of gold, with the instruments of the Passion placed in a basket behind the head. It was of an octagonal form, about four inches and a half high by three inches and a half wide, and was referred to the Bolognese school. Another painting on *lupis lazuli* of the Bolognese school, representing the calling of the Apostles, is in the possession of Dr. Wiseman. In our *Journal* (xv, 288) is described a Spanish pendant with an octagonal plaque of azure-blue glass, having on one side the Baptism of the Saviour, and on the other Christ Walking on the Sea.

Mr. W. H. Forman has a brilliant Italian *Riposo*, painted on an oval slab of purple fluor-spar, about ten inches high by thirteen inches wide; and the head of Christ now exhibited, and a knight in armour, formerly at Strawberry-hill, may be instanced as examples of paintings on alabaster. There were also at Strawberry-hill a Dead Christ on black marble by Annibale Carracci; and a figure of Christ bound, on the same substance, and by the same master, at Fonthill. This last mansion was likewise enriched by a picture on black marble of "Infernal Spirits" by James Callot, and, further, by The Annunciation, most elaborately painted on agate by Lebel.

At one period polished slabs of Florentine or Ruin marble were employed to paint on, the natural configurations serving for the back ground, trees, figures, etc., being added with the brush. Dr. Grew, in "Catalogue of the *Rarities* belonging to the Royal Society" (1681, p. 375) enumerates "A Landscape, being the Prospect of a Fair City, painted upon stone;" "A Natural Landscape, or Prospect of Ruinous Buildings in stone, humour'd with a tree painted over it;" and "Another with a Woman in a praying posture." I may also state that I have seen a battle-piece painted on Ruin marble, apparently a copy from one of Tempesta's designs. It was once the fashion to imitate Florentine

¹ See *Pitture d'Ercolano*, vol. i, pl. I. Napoli, 1757.

mosaics by engraving the subjects on marble slabs and painting them in various hues; these productions must, however, be considered rather as ingenious tricks than the fruits of legitimate art. Vasari relates that the mighty genius of Giotto was first detected on a smooth fragment of slate in the valley of Vespignano; and in tracing the history of painting on stone, we should not forget that in our own day and country tablets of slate have been successfully employed as a field for colour by the late eminent artist, Mr. J. H. Nixon.

Since writing the above, Dr. H. C. Barlow has favoured me with the following notice of

PAINTINGS ON SLATE.

"One of the most interesting collections of pictures on slate that I have seen, and in its way quite unique, is a series of figures of the Apostles in the church of St. Ursula at Cologne. These venerable men are here represented in a sitting attitude, sketched with a dark outline, filled in with colour, and the period assigned to their execution is A.D. 1224. They are, in appearance, entitled to be regarded not only as genuine works of the early German school, but as exhibiting, in one or two instances, that style in its greatest primitive purity, these not having received any modern improvements. When I saw them, they were, to the best of my remembrance, on the right hand of the choir, twelve in number, and nearly life size; of course they are much more curious than beautiful, but the material on which they are preserved shews the desire of the painter to perpetuate his performance. They were probably intended to form a wall facing. I do not, however, consider these works, though probably not exaggerated in their date (first half of thirteenth century), to be the oldest pictures in Cologne, but to come next to the oldest, the latter being certain wall paintings in the crypt of St. Maria in Capitol; those best seen are on the soffit of a vault close by a window, and represent, apparently, a deposition—an empty tomb with figures, a tree of life, and other subjects; they are in the Byzantine manner, with a bold broad outline, filled in with darkish colour.

"There is in the Gallery of the Louvre a very famous picture by Daniele de Volterra, which was presented by the Spanish Ambassador to Louis XIV as a work by Michael Angelo, and under that name has been engraved. It is on slate, painted on both sides with different representations of the same subject, David slaying Goliah. The size of the picture, in French measure, is in height, *metre* 1,33; in length, 1,72. I once knocked it with my knuckle to ascertain the fact of its being on slate, which to look at it one would not at all suspect."

Mr. Paul Bridson, of Douglas, Isle of Man, forwarded some memoranda relative to Thomas Burton, bishop of Sodor and Man: an impression of whose seal forms the front of the silver bracelet described in this

Journal for Dec. 1861 (xvii, 335). The Rev. Mr. Cumming, in a note to Sacheverell's *Survey of the Isle of Man* (p. 87, No. 107), says it is supposed to have belonged to Thomas, consecrated at Norway, 1334; ruled fourteen years, and buried at Scone, in Scotland, Sept. 20, 1348. This bishop is not named by Heylyn; neither is *Burton* by Sacheverell. Thomas Burton was abbot of Vale Royal, in Cheshire; made bishop in 1452, and stated by some historians to have died in possession in 1480. This Thomas of happy memory, "beloved and elect," as described, was afterwards banished from Rome. The bracelet is, no doubt, a history in itself. The pope styles the see the "church of Sodor"; the bracelet expressly makes it "Mannensis." William Burton, the antiquary, who left some manuscript collections of arms, monuments, and other antiquities, and published his description of Leicestershire in 1622, is supposed to be of the same family as the above, and may possibly have given a description of his ancestor.

Mr. Cuming read a paper, "On Seals bearing a Date," which will appear in a future *Journal*.

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British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1862.

ON ROMAN REMAINS AT BATH.

(Continued from JOURNAL, March 1861, vol. xvii, p. 18.)

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.

HAVING in the preceding paper treated of the altars dedicated to the goddess Sul and Sul Minerva, and the funereal inscription to the priest of that goddess, I purpose to continue to record in the present paper more of the funereal inscriptions which have been found in Bath, most of which are still in existence, and preserved in the Literary and Scientific Institution, and to endeavour to correct some errors in the readings which have been given, but which further acquaintance with the subject, as well as more recent discoveries, enable us to rectify.

RVSONIAE . AVEN
NAE . C . MEDIOMATR
ANNOR . LVIII . H . S . E
L . VLPIVS . SESTIVS
H . F . C

This inscription is contained on a flat stone, without border or ornament, three feet one inch, by one foot five inches. It was discovered in the street called the Borough Walls.¹ Mr. Lysons gives an engraving of it.² It is now in the passage of the Literary and Scientific Institution.

¹ See *Bath Chron.*, May 1803, and subsequently in the publication of Warner's *Illustrations*.

² Rel. Rom., part ii, pl. xiii, 1.
1862

Mr. Hunter¹ says it appears to have shown the place of interment of Rusonia Avenna, a *centurion* belonging to the nation of the Mediomatrici (a people of Gaul), who died at the age of fifty-eight years; Lucius Ulpius Sestius caused it to be erected.

The late Mr. Leman read it thus, "To Rusonia Avenna, the wife of Mediomars." Orelli has given an inscription,² found at Mayence, which seems to have been either unknown to, or overlooked by those who read this stone, where we have CIVES MEDIOMATRICA at length, which seems to be the correct reading of the Bath stone, c here standing for *civis*, not for *centurio* or *conjux*.

We have already recorded an inscription,³ with CIVIS TREVER, a Trever citizen: so here we have a citizen of the people called Mediomatrici.⁴ This people are mentioned by Caesar,⁵ as bordering on the Rhine, between the Vosges mountains and that river.⁶ Rusonia Avenna was therefore a citizen of that people, who died in Bath, at the age of fifty-eight, and had a stone erected to his memory by L. Ulpius Sestius, his heir.

The stone is remarkable for the boldness, size, and beauty of the letters inscribed on it. The letters are three inches in length.

SER	NVS
NIC EMERITVS EX	
LEG . XX . AN . XLV	
H . S . E	
G . TIBERINV . HERES	
F . C.	

The upper portion of this funereal inscription is broken

¹ Inst. Catalog. ² No. 3,523. ³ Journal for March 1861, vol. xvii, p. 8.

⁴ The inscription in Orelli is as follows,—see also Gruter, 631, 8,—

D . M .
PRIMVLAE COMITIL
LAE QVAE VIXIT
ANNIS XX . CIVIS
MEDIOMATRICA
MATERNIVS NEM
AVSVS STRATOR
COS . ET LVCIUS LV
CINVS MENSOR
FRVMENTI NVMER.

The STRATOR CONSULARIS, or consular equerry, here mentioned, was an officer employed to purchase horses for the Roman cavalry. (See Rich's Companion to the Greek Lexicon and Latin Dictionary, p. 623.)

⁵ Bello Gallico, lib. iv, 10.

⁶ See Strabo, p. 193.

away. The stone was found since Mr. Warner published his *Illustrations* in 1797; but it is not known where it was discovered. It is now placed in the passage of the Literary and Scientific Institution. Mr. Lysons has given a very correct engraving of the stone.¹ He reads the first letters SER for Servius, and supposes the next word to begin with M and end ONVS; and the letters NIC to stand for NICON.

Whatever may have been the name, the stone marked the resting place of a discharged soldier of the xx legion, who died at the age of forty-five, and this memorial was erected to him by his heir, GAIVS TIBERINVVS. The letters are well cut, and the inscription is without contractions.

IVLIVS . VITA
LIS . FABRICIES
IS . LEG . XX.V.V.
STIPENDIOR
VM IX . ANOR XX
IX NATIONE . BE
LGA . EX . COLEGO
FABRICE . ELATV
S . H . S . E.

This interesting inscription is well preserved, and is contained within a moulding upon an upright stone, having a triangular top, which contains a device of fruit and flowers. It was found, Oct. 1708, on the side of the London Road, Walcot, with two urns, one large the other small, and both containing ashes. The London Road here follows the line of the old Foss Way to Batheaston, where the Foss separated into two branches, the one leading to Cirencester (CORINIUM) the line of the Foss Way, the other to CUNETIO, near Marlborough, the line of the VIA JULIA. This inscription has occupied the attention of many learned men.² It is a monumental stone, erected to Julius Vitalis, a native of Belgic Britain (within which territory Bath was situated), who belonged to the xx legion, v. v. Valeria, Victrix, and was FABRICIESIS or FABRICIENSIS, a smith or armourer of the legion, and who was buried by the company of smiths, as the words EX COLEGIO FABRICE

¹ Plate xii, 3.

² Musgrave, Dodwell, Hearne (end of Spelman's *Alfred*), Horsley, *Somerset*, p. 192, N. 70, p. 323, with some remarks at the end by Ward. Mr. Warner places this inscription the first in his *Illustrations*; and Mr. Lysons gives an engraving of it, plate xii, 4.

ELATVS, lead us to infer. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the ninth of his service.

Mr. Ward says, "Tis not improbable this Julius Vitalis was a person beloved by his fraternity, who were therefore willing to show so much respect to his memory, and to bury him, and place this stone over him at the common expense."

We find COLLEGIVM in the proper and usual sense of the word in the famous Sussex inscription.¹ Gale remarks "Several sorts of workmen were included under the name FABRI, particularly all those concerned in any kind of building." In later times the FABRI were called FABRICIENSES, and their workhouse was called FABRICA.²

Part of the word COLEGIA occurs also in the fragment of the inscription found on the site of the present pump room, as mentioned in the *Journal*.³ This interesting stone is now in the passage of the Literary and Scientific Institution.

C . MVRRIVS
 C . F . ARNIENSIS
 FORO . IVLI . MO
 DESTVS . MIL
 LEG . II . AD . P . F
 > IVLI . SECUNDI
 ANN . XXV . STIP . VIII
 H . S . E.

This sepulchral inscription, together with another, was found in the line of the old Foss Road, near the place where the Julius Vitalis stone was dug up. They cannot now be traced, and have most probably been lost or broken up, but were known to exist as late as the time of Wood, the historian of Bath. They were discovered, A.D. 1592, and preserved by Mr. Robert Chambers, who thus recorded the discovery on a stone erected in his garden, near the Cross-bath.

HEC . MONVMEN . VIO
 LATA . SULCIS . IN . CA
 MP . DE . WALCOT . R . C .
 CVLTOR . ANTIQ . HVC .
 TRANSTVLIT . AN
 VER . INCAR . 1592.

¹ See Horsley, p. 192, N. 76, also p. 334-5, for an account of the Collegia.

² For a particular account of the COLLEGIA, see Warner's *Illustrations*, p. 2.

³ Dec. 1857, p. 266.

There they were seen by Camden, who published them in his *Britannia*. When Guidott wrote, 1673, they were in the north wall of a garden, near the Cross-bath, belonging to Mr. Crofts, and Horsley saw them in 1725, in a wall belonging to the house of Mrs. Chives, near the Cross-bath, and in 1749, Wood says, "they are to be seen in the north wall of the garden, which makes Chandos Court incomplete." Since which time they have disappeared.¹

Horsley gives a drawing of the stone, and no doubt records the letters correctly. The latter part of the inscription is broken away. It commemorates CAIVS MVRRIVS MODESTVS, the son of CAIVS, of the tribe ARNIENSIS, of the town FORO JULII (Friuli), a soldier of the LEG. II. ADJUTRICIS. PIAE. FIDELIS, of the century of JVLIVS SECUNDVS, aged ANN. XXV. The term of his service, STIP. VIII, is conjectural, as the number was broken out. It appears also from Horsley's drawing, that there was space for the centuriat mark at the beginning of the sixth line, and therefore it may be supplied. He says that the letters AD. P. F are so distinct in the original, as to leave no room for any suspicion of error; but observes "that the legio secunda adjutrix, which seems here to be mentioned, was never in Britain, or at least there is no proof of it. But the soldier may have come to Bath for his health," or been a Briton serving in that legion. This seems a more probable conjecture, than to read the inscription, ADOPTIVVS FILIVS JVLII SECUNDI, which would differ from the ordinary form of such inscriptions.

DIS . MANIBVS
M . VALERIVS . M
FIL . LATINUS . CEQ
MILES . LEG . XX . AN
XXXV . STIPEN . XX
H . S . E.

This sepulchral inscription was found with the last recorded, viz., that to C. MVRRIVS, and preserved with it down to the time of Wood; it is now lost. A drawing of it is, however, given in Horsley.²

¹ See Guidott, p. 86; Musgrave, ii, 7; Horsley Somerset, ii; Wood, ii, 420; Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, 1; Warner's *Ill.*, introd., p. xxi.

² P. 192, N. 71, and p. 326. See also Camden; Guidott, p. 86; Musgrave, ii, 6; and Warner's *Illustrations*, introduction, p. xxi.

The only difficulty in the reading is at the end of the third line, where Horsley would read *œq* centurio or decurio equitum, as the tied letter *œ*, as he supposes, may be either the centurial mark, and *E*, or the letters *DE*. It is, no doubt, *D* reversed for *DECVRIO*, and *EQ* for *EQVITVM*. Centurio is only applied to a commander of a body of infantry, and decurio to the commander of a body of cavalry.¹ The equites were divided into ten *termæ*; out of each of these three officers were chosen, *PRÆFECTI. OPTIONES. DECVRIONES*.

This inscription commemorates Marcus Valerius Latinus, the son of Marcus, a decurion of cavalry, or of the horse which belonged to the *xx* legion, who died at the age of thirty-five, and in the twentieth year of his service. Horsley supposes "that Valerius had served in the capacities of a soldier, a horseman, and a decurio equitum in the same legion. Such gradations appear in other inscriptions."

L . viTELLIVS . MA
 NTAlF TANCINVs .
 CIVES . HISp . CAVRIESIS
 EQ . ALAE . VETTONVM . CR
 ANN . XXXXVI . STIP . XXVI
 H . S . E .

This stone was found A.D. 1736, in digging a vault in the market place.² It is part of a monumental stone erected to the memory of a horse soldier, who is represented riding over a prostrate enemy. Similar stones have been found at Cirencester, Gloucester, and at Wroxeter. The monument is incomplete, but the upper portion of another stone of a like nature supplies what is wanting, though upon a smaller scale. This second stone was, according to Mr. Warner, found in Grosvenor Gardens.³

The inscription below the figure is perfect, although the stone is broken, and some of the letters in the second and third lines are injured. For many years this stone, together with that erected to *IVLIVS VITALIS*, were inserted in the wall of the Abbey Church, but both are now placed in the passage of the Literary and Scientific Institution.⁴

Mr. Lysons reads *HISPANLE* instead of *HISPANVS*, and

¹ See Polybius, b. vi, p. 471.

² Collinson's *Somersetshire*, vol. i, p. 12.

³ See *Illustrations*, p. 10.

⁴ See Muratori, *DCCCLXX*, 6; Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, 8; Warner's *Illustrations*, No. II; *Hist.*, App., p. 118; Lysons, xii, 1; *Phil. Trans.*, 1748.

EQVITVM instead of EQVES, and C.R.CENTVRIO instead of CIVIVM ROMANORVM; but the last two readings are evidently erroneous, and HISPANVS is better than HISPANE. The Rev. Dr. McCaul has pointed this out in his *Notes on Latin Inscriptions found in Britain*.¹

The stone was erected to Lucius Vitellius Tancinus, the son of Mantaus a citizen of Caurium, in Spain, a soldier of the Vettonensian auxiliary cavalry, composed of men who had obtained the right and privilege of Roman citizens. He died at the age of forty-six, having served twenty-six years.

The name TANCINVS occurs in an inscription found in Lusitania.² Caurium was a town of Lusitania in the district of Estremadura.³ The Vettones were a neighbouring people who furnished heavy armed cavalry as auxiliaries to the Roman armies.

The stops in this inscription are large triangular leaves with stalks, which indicate rather a late date; but Dr. Conrad Leemans, of Leyden, in treating of the monumental stones of a like character, found at Watermore, near Cirencester, says,⁴ that the Watermore inscriptions may be fixed between the expedition of Agricola and the reign of Aurelius and his first successors, and the sepulchral stones of horsemen of the Roman allies found at Bath and in Shropshire, may belong to the beginning of the same period.

The reading is as follows :

Lucius Vitellius Mantai filius Tancinus cives Hispanus
Cauriesis Æques Alæ Vettonum, civium Romanorum, ann.
xxxxvi. Stip. xxvi. Hic situs est.

The following inscription is on a stone, shaped like an altar, but without any focus.

NA SACRAT
SSIMA VOTV
MSOLVIT
VETTIVS BE
NIGNVS . L . M.

It was found near the hot bath, A.D. 1776, and is engraved in Lysons, and described, p. 11; but is wrongly

¹ Part vi, pp. 2, 3.

² See Gruter, DCCCCXVII, 8.

⁴ Archaeol., xxvii, p. 211.

³ See Hoff, Lexicon, tom. i, p. 718.

given in Collinson's *History of Somerset* (vol. i, p. 14), as well as by Mr. Warner, in a note to his *Illustrations*, p. 23, where it is read

DEAE DIA
NAE SACRAT
SSIMA

The first line is an invention. The inscription begins

NASACRAT

the first letter being defaced, and only the last portion of it clear. There seems, however, to be the slanting stroke of an *n*, and the letter was probably *n* and not *i* with the *p* before it, as conjectured by Mr. Lysons, who would read it *PIA SACRATISSIMA*. The letters *NA*, in the first line, may stand for *NVMINA AVGVSTI*, with the epithet *SACRATISSIMA*, and the inscription becomes intelligible, which it was not before.

The title *Sacratissima* was applied to the *Numina Augusti*, see Gruter,¹

SACRATISSIMO IMP HADRIANO AVG

and also *Sanctissimus, venerandus venerandissimus*.² We have also *N. D. N.*, *Numini domini nostri*, on the altar found at Risingham, Northumberland.³ The first inscription given by Gruter relates to the dedication of a statue, and this stone, on which the Bath inscription occurs, seems rather to have been the pedestal of a statue, though in the form of an altar, as there is no focus at the top, which is perfectly plain, and the stone being cut away at the back, appears to have been inserted in the wall of a building. We may conjecture, therefore, that *VETTIVS BENIGNVS* paid his vow by putting up a statue or other offering in honour of the most sacred divinity of the emperor. I am aware that authority is wanting for reading *N. A.*, as I have done, the words being generally written *NVMIN. AVG*, as in the altar dedicated by Caius Curiatius Saturninus,⁴ or *N. AVG* as in the commemorative inscription which follows.⁵ I offer, however, the above reading as nearer the truth, and more satisfactory than that of Mr. Lysons.

¹ cccxlvii, 4.

² See Gruter, ci, 7; clxv; cclxxii, 5, 6; cclxxxiii, 9; ccix, 2.

³ See Camden, edit. 1607, p. 662.

⁴ See Lysons, xiii, 2.

⁵ See also Warner, No. IX.



LOCVM RELI
 GIOSVM PER IN
 SOLENTIAM E
 RVTVM
 VIRTVTIETN
 AVG REPVRGA
 TVM REDDIDIT
 C SEVERIVS
 EMERITVS)
 REC

This stone was found at the lower end of Stall Street, A.D. 1753, with two altars already mentioned ; viz., one to the SVLEVÆ, and the other to the Loucetian Mars.¹

This inscription is thought by Mr. Ward to be of the age of Severus.² The inscription is very interesting, as it raises a question, what was this LOCVS RELIGIOSVS ? and what is implied by PER INSOLENTIAM ERVTVM ? Probably a temple or small chapel dedicated to the presiding divinity that had been overthrown in some tumult of party feeling. The Roman military officer of the locality restored and repurified it VIRTUTE ET NVMINE AVGVSTI. The Numen Augusti occurring here strengthens the conjecture as to the correct reading of the last inscription. The mention also of the VIRTVS ET NVMEN AVGVSTI gives the idea that the restoration was an act of public authority. The centurial mark) follows the word EMERITVS, which may here be either a cognomen, or an appellative intimating that C. SEVERIVS had completed his term of service, and received his discharge.

There are also three letters below the last line, but of a different size, which have been read PEG ; which, as they do not appear to be a contraction for any word which would here suit the sense, Mr. Hunter supposes may have been scratched on the stone by a wanton hand.

D M

SVCC . PETRONIAE VIX
 ANN III . M . IIII . D . IX . VERO
 MVLVS . ET . VICTISARINA
 FIL . KAR . FEC .

¹ See *Journal*, xvii, p. 8.

² See *Phil. Trans.*, xlvi, 332 ; Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 9 ; Lysons, *Rel. Rom.*, part ii, p. 10, and note ; also Warner's *Ill.*, No. IX, p. 47; and *Anti-jacobin Review*, x.

The stone which bore this inscription is now lost; it is recorded to have been inserted in the city wall, between the North and West Gates, and had been brought there from one of the Roman cemeteries which followed the lines of road out of the city. Leland¹ is the first who mentions it, in describing the antiquities he saw in the walls between the two gates. Dr. Guidott thus describes it: "next to that lower, toward the West Gate, is the monument of one of the children of two Romans: PRIMVLVS . ROMVLVS VIPOMVLVS, or rather VETEROMVLVS (for that word in the stone is somewhat difficult to read), and VICTISARINA, with a longer and exactly Roman inscription in a sepulchre table between two little images, whereof the one holds the horn of Amalthea or Cornucopia, the other bringeth a flying roll, or winding list or banner over the left shoulder."² This inscription Camden sent to Gruter, and it is given in his *Thesaurus*, DCC, 6, but the reading differs. Horsley has also given a drawing of it (see *Somerset*, iv.), and observes that the two figures on each side have nothing to do with the inscription and are on different stones.³

A correspondent well skilled in inscriptions proposes to read the inscription thus:

D[IIIS] M[ANIBVS]
SVCC[ESSAE] PETRONIAE
VIX[IT] ANN[IS] III . M[ENSIBVS] IIII . D[IEBVS] IX .
VET[TIVS] ROMVLVS ET VIC[TORIA] SABINA
FIL[AE] KAR[ISSIMAE] FEC[ERVNT]

The difficulty is in the name of the father, which is most probably two words, as suggested above, and likewise that of the mother. The two stones containing figures, which accompanied this inscription, and which are placed in the drawing on either side, but which, according to Horsley, "are three distinct stones, and do not appear to have been ever united," have a strong likeness to christian emblems. "One of these," says Horsley, "is a victory with a palm branch in her left hand, and a corona in her right." The other, as Dr. Stukeley thinks, "has a cornucopia in her left,"

¹ Itinerary, vol. ii, 35.

² See Guidott's *Discourse of Bathe*, pp. 69, 70: London, 1676. He gives a drawing of it, and reads it as above.

³ See also Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, 4; and Warner's *Illust.*, introd., p. xxii, where the reading differs considerably.

but, says he, "I am persuaded they have no reference to the inscription near which they are placed."

It might be supposed that the figure to the left of the inscription was that of the "Good Shepherd" bringing back the wandering sheep, and that to the right was "Victory" with the palm branch. A similar pair is found in Maffei's *Museum Veronense*; but the good shepherd is usually represented with a tunic and buskins. It is worth remark, that the name PETRONIA is found in christian inscriptions, also VICTORIA and SABINA are found in the catacombs at Rome, as well as that of SVCESSA. There is also a saint Romulus at Velletri, whose body (as our associate Dr. McCaul informs me) was taken out of the catacomb of St. Cyriac. It is much to be regretted that the originals are lost, and the copy, both of the inscription and accompanying figures, probably very imperfect. It is, however, an interesting memorial of family affection.

DEC . COLONIAE GLEV .

VIXIT . AN . LXXXVI .

Fragment of an inscribed stone recorded to have been inserted in the city wall, near the North Gate; it is now lost.¹ It records a decurion of the colony of Glevum or Gloucester, who died at the age of eighty-six. A decurion was either a senator in any of the municipal towns or colonies, who held a corresponding rank and discharged similar functions in his own town to what the senators did at Rome, or an officer over ten horsemen; here he seems to have been the former. Orelli (99) gives the following inscription, which may help us to conjecture the part wanting in the above.²

D . M

C . COPONII . CRESCENTIS

DEC . TVSCANENSIVM

QVAEST . R . P . VETER . AVG

LEG XIII . GEMIN . SIGNIFER .

B . M . FECERVNT . C . CAVIVS . PRISCVS . FIL

SCRIBVS . RESTITVTVS . V.A.L

¹ It was published by Hearne in his notes to Leland's *Itinerary*, ii, 35; also by Roger Gale in his *Antoninus*, p. 129. Guidott gives it in his *Discourse of Bath*, p. 69; Musgrave, ii, 1; Horsley Somerset, v; Gough's *Camden*, viii, 3; Warner's *Illustrations*, introd., p. xxii.

² This inscription corroborates the statement of Richard of Cirencester, that

D . M.
MERC MAGNII .
ALVMNA . VIXIT . AN . I
M . IV . D . XII.

This funereal inscription was found, A.D. 1809, near the old North Gate, under Cavanagh's Bank, and was preserved by Mr. Barratt. It is now in the Literary and Scientific Institution. No engraving of it is given in Warner's history or *Illustrations*, as it was discovered subsequent to the publication of those works; but an excellent engraving is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii, p. 420, appendix, and it is there described in a letter from the late Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., dated April 9th, 1827. The inscription is to an "Alumna of Mercurialis or Mercutius Magnus, who died, aged one year, four months, and twelve days." The space between MERC. and MAGNII was left blank when the inscription was cut.

Orelli has this note upon the word "alumna,"—"Sæpe memorantur ALVMNI et ALVMNAE (*θρηπτοι*) i.e., liberi nati, expositi, deinde sublati a quibusdam et in servitudine educati."—*Trajan, Ep. ad Plin.*, 10, 72.

NOVANTI FIL
PRO SE ET SVIS
EX VISV POSVT

This inscription is on the front of a large block of stone, now in the Literary and Scientific Institution, and was found in 1825, in digging the foundations of the United Hospital, not far from the place where the altars were found, A.D. 1733. It appears to have formed part of a building, and there were probably two lines, if not more, on the stone above it. It was first described by Mr. Hunter.¹ "It indicates," says Mr. Hunter, "that the son of Novantus erected something, probably a sepulchre, for himself and his family; on comparing this inscription with some in Gruter, I conclude that the full form must have been this: first, the name of some god or goddess; second, the name of the

Gloucester was one of the nine *Coloniae*. See Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 359.

¹ See *Archæol.*, vol. xxii, p. 420, Appendix, in the same letter in which the foregoing inscription is given.

party; third, the inscription, as above exhibited. Thus perhaps:

“[DEAE . SVLIMINERVÆ
MARCVS AVFIDIVS MAXIMVS]
NOVANTI FILIVS
PRO SE ET SVIS
EX VISV POSVIT.

“for, I observe, says he, in Gruter, that ‘ex visu,’ is used only in reference to something done towards the gods.”

VIBIA
IVCVNI
DA
AN . XXX
HIC SEPVL
TA . EST.

Philipot, in his “*Villare Cantianum*,” who wrote A.D. 1660, says that this inscription was found not many years before “at the Bath,” and “represented to public inspection.” He describes it as an “urn with this endorsement insculpted” (see p. 250); as “an urn” in those days did not necessarily mean a piece of pottery, it was probably a “sepulchral tablet.”

The inscription is given by Guidott, p. 72, who says it was found in Walcot. Warner has copied what Guidott says; it was thought by Horsley to be spurious, but it is not so. It is read as above in Burton’s *Commentary on Antonine*. It was formerly in the possession of alderman John Parker. It records Vibia Jucunda, who died at the age of thirty, and was buried beneath the stone.

) CORNELIANV.

The two portions of stone upon which the above inscription is cut, were always considered to be part of two different words, and are given as such by Mr. Hunter, in his *Catalogue* (p. 77); but the librarian of the Institution, on examining the fragments, and placing them together, found that the portions belonged to one stone originally, and the letters form the word CORNELIANVS, with the centurial mark) apparently preceding them.

Three other lettered fragments have also been found, but not sufficient to make out any name, or to enable us to

hazard any reasonable conjecture as to their meaning. The three fragments,¹ are as follow :

VRN
IOP

LIVSSA
SVXSO

ILIA
VLIA

Future excavations may reveal the missing portions, if still in existence ; at all events, it is important to preserve a record of the letters.

I come now to the most recent discovery of a lettered fragment, and not one of the least interesting and important to antiquaries. It was made last year (A.D. 1861) on the site of the new building, added to the Bath Mineral Water Hospital, when a tessellated pavement, of a rude description, was laid open, and many Roman coins and much pottery dug up. These are all preserved in the Literary and Scientific Institution, and an account of them was read to the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, at their meeting in August 1862, which will be published in their proceedings.

The inscription is in white marble, apparently foreign, as no such marble exists in England, though it is found in Ireland. The fragments of marble were picked up by the contractor for the works, while sinking a shaft, and afterwards united. Unhappily it is only a fragment, but this discovery serves to authenticate other marble inscriptions said to have been found in England, the authenticity of which has hitherto been disputed. The lettering is as follows :

DEAE . S
TI . CL . T
SOLLEN
PVT (*conjectural*).

The letters are particularly well cut, and seem to belong to an early period of Roman occupation. The small fragment of the letter s leaves little doubt that the dedication was to the DEA SVL or SVLMINERVA to whom we have seen six inscriptions relate, and also a temple or other building to have been dedicated.² In the second line we have the abbreviations of two names of the dedicatory TI(BERIVS)

¹ Engraved by Musgrave, tab. ii; see also Guidott, p. 82; Hearne in Leland's *Itinerary*, ii, 36; also Warner's *Illustrations*, introduction, p. xxiii.

² See paper on Roman Remains, in this *Journal*, vol. xvii, for March 1861, pp. 8-18.

CL(AV)DIVS), with a triangular stop after each, clearly cut, and the first letter of the cognomen (T), which may be any Roman name beginning with that letter. The third line commences with the word SOLLEN; but the remainder is broken away, leaving us to conjecture that it was the word SOLLENES or SOLLEMNES, and referred to the vows paid to the tutelary goddess. The word SOLLEMNIS occurs in an inscription on marble, preserved in Fabretti, p. 168 and 323, and also given in Orelli, 4859, and is a fragment of a funereal laudatory inscription of the Augustan age. The letters commencing the fourth line are cut smaller, but it is not possible to conjecture the word.

The finding this inscription in marble, induces the belief that the funereal tablet of marble, stated to have been found at Wroxeter, and preserved in the Museum in Shrewsbury, is genuine, and was not brought from abroad. Also that what Whitaker calls "the square marble urn, which tradition reports to have been found at Rokeby, in Yorkshire,"¹ may be genuine also, and the tradition perfectly correct. It certainly appears from this that, notwithstanding Whitaker's assertion to the contrary, the Romans did use marble in this country, but probably imported it from the continent, and its use was not very frequent.

PRO SALVTE IMP . CES . M . AVR
 ANTON^INI PII . FEL^ICIS INVIC
 TI AVG . . . NAEVIUS AVG
 LIB ADIVT PROCC PRINCI
 PIA RVINA OPRESS AS L^ORES
 TITVIT

This inscription, which is now in the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, was found at Combe Down, a village about one mile south of Bath, in 1854. It was discovered while making a garden to a new villa, and served as the covering stone for the lower part of a stone coffin, in which was a perfect skeleton. This spot is since proved to have been the site of a Roman villa, where many objects of interest have been discovered, and are carefully preserved by the owner. Five stone coffins have been found on the spot, besides urns containing burnt bones, and the head of a horse placed in a stone box.²

¹ See Whitaker's *Hist. of Richmondsh.*, vol. i, p. 150; also *Gent. Mag.*, 1862.

² See *Somerset Archaeological Journal*, vol. v, p. 49, and Appendix, p. 135.

The inscription is not deeply cut, and the stone being soft in quality, has rendered the inscription rather difficult to read. It is as follows : "For the safety of the Emp. Cæs. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the pious, fortunate, invincible Augustus, Nævius Freedman of the Emperor, and assistant of the procurators, restored the chief military quarters which had fallen to ruin."

The word PRINCPIA, in the fourth line, is read with difficulty ; but there seems no doubt of its correctness. The reading is corroborated by a stone found at Lanchester, see Horsley,¹ where we have

PRINCPIA ET ARMENTARIA
CONLAPSA RESTITVIT.

This is proof of a class of buildings called PRINCPIA. See also Facciolati, *in Verb. Principium*. "Locus in Castris ubi erat prætorium, et tabernacula legatorum et tribunorum militum, et signa legionum ; et ubi conciones militares et concilia habebantur, jus dicebatur, sacra fiebant. Αρχαῖα."

There is no evidence that the Principia stood where the stone was found. It seems rather to have been cut and prepared in the quarry near at hand, and then it may be, thrown aside, and afterwards used for the purpose of a coffin lid. The site of the Roman building and its enclosure, together with the remains found, do not give the idea of a military station, unless it was a summer residence for the officer in command, at a time of much security. The dedication may refer either to Caracalla or Heliogabalus.

AIIVS
ON DEDIT
ET QVINTIANO COS.

The above inscription was found, not in Bath, but six miles out of Bath, in the parish of Camerton, on the line of the Foss Road, A.D. 1814. It was recorded by Mr. Skinner, the rector of Camerton, in a letter to the late Samuel Lysons, Esq., F.S.A., and the MS., which appears to have been read to the Society of Antiquaries, is in the possession of the Rev. S. Lysons, of Hempstead Court, Gloucester. A drawing of the stone is there given. The inscription is also recorded in Leman's copy of Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*,¹ now

¹ Durham, No. XII.

in the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, in a marginal entry in manuscript by that antiquary.

It was found in digging out the remains of a building which was one of several which bordered on the line of the Foss, six miles from Bath, and about a mile beyond the Red Post Inn, and is on a white lias stone. It is not known what has become of it. Part of a stone statue was found with it, and pieces of painted stucco. The first line is much defaced, only the letters a, v, and s, can be distinctly read. The letters between the a and v may have been a t and i, or p and i, or ii, so that the name seems to have terminated in the form ATIVS, or APIVS, or AIVS. The next word is plainly [c]ONDEDIT, an e being put for an i. On the third line we have ET QVINTIANO COS, so that we are able to supply what is wanting, knowing that BASSVS was consul with QVINTIANVS, A.D. 289, *i. e.*, in the first or second year of Carausius.¹

Thus we can fix the date of the erection or re-erection of this building, as, from Mr. Skinner's account, it seems to have been built out of the materials, and upon the site, of older buildings. It is not improbable that this line of buildings marked the first posting station out of Aquæ Solis, on the Foss Road towards Ischalis, Ilchester. Many Roman coins have been found at Camerton, and chiefly in the field where this building stood in which the inscription was found. The coins embrace a period from Claudius to Valentinian I.

With this inscription ends the list of those found in Bath and the immediate neighbourhood. The lists hitherto given, even that contained in the catalogue of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, are imperfect. It has been my endeavour in these papers to bring together as correct an account as possible of each lettered stone, that all should be recorded in the pages of one publication. That many yet remain to be discovered is my belief, and I am not without hope that some supposed to be lost may yet be recovered.

¹ See Stukeley's *Carausius*, vol. i, p. 72.

THE MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES OF EXETER.

BY T. WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

IT has always been the practice of the British Archæological Association, from its first establishment, to give its attention to the municipal archives of the various cities and corporate towns which have been the scenes of its annual meetings. For this there were two motives. In the first place, the interesting materials contained in these records for general history as well as local, and especially for the history of the social condition of our forefathers, had been too much overlooked; and, in the second, the records of this class had themselves been so much neglected and ill treated by those who were their natural keepers, that in many places they no longer existed, and in others they were rapidly perishing. To this state of things the city of Exeter forms an honourable exception, for its records have been preserved with a considerable degree of care: as far as I have examined them they are in good condition, and they are safe in the keeping of the excellent town clerk, Mr. Gidley, who fully appreciates their historical importance; and who is adopting wise measures not only for preserving them in future, but for making them readily accessible to historical inquirers.

This circumstance has altogether lightened, if not rendered almost unnecessary, the task which I had undertaken, of giving an account of the Exeter municipal records; and in one respect it is well that it has done so, for at this moment I could not have given them any extensive examination in consequence of their being in a state of transport from the closets in which they were formerly kept, to a new and convenient room which, I believe through the exertions of Mr. Gidley, has been recently built for them. I have therefore not ventured to do more than make a few miscellaneous extracts from one or two of the town records which came first to hand, in order to shew their general character and the sort of information we may derive from them; and, as the Exeter archives are unusually rich in records of the

fourteenth century, I will confine myself chiefly to this early period.

The documents to which I shall call your attention belong to two classes,—the rolls of the city court of justice, and the accounts of the municipal income and expenditure; and I will begin with the former, because the earliest of the documents I have yet examined belongs to this class. It is a roll of the proceedings of the court during the thirtieth year of the reign of King Edward I, or A.D. 1302. The number of cases of offences of various descriptions recorded in this bulky roll to have occurred within the space of one year is quite extraordinary, and speaks little for the morality of the townsmen, who seem to have been always quarrelling and fighting, slandering, robbing, or cheating one another. The actions for slander and abuse entered in this roll are wonderfully numerous. Here is an example:—On the southern side of the city, occupying the site, or part of the site, of what is called the Southern-hay, lay the Crolle-ditch, or Crulle-ditch,—a place which is frequently mentioned in the early records. Individuals are often indicted for throwing refuse upon it; and a fair was held there. On one occasion, as we learn from the court roll just quoted, one Reginald Kene complained that John Mody, “on Wednesday in the feast of St. Peter-ad-Vincula, attacked him and his wife Juliana, calling her a wicked witch and thief, and charging her with having surreptitiously taken the thread of the women and good men of the city, and sold it, and of gaining a living in this manner”; besides accusing them of “other enormities.” This same roll contains the earliest instance of the charge of witchcraft that I have yet met with in a record of this description in England. The grand jury present that “Dionysia Baldewyne is accustomed to receive John de Wermhill and Agnes his wife, and Joan La Cornwalyse (*i.e.*, the Cornish woman) of Teignmouth, who are witches and enchantors; and the said Dionisia consorts with them, and they (the jury) say that she is not worthy to be received in visnet.” The good inhabitants of Exeter at this time are indeed represented to us, both men and women,—and perhaps we may say especially the latter,—as very skilful in the art of vituperation. Thief, applied to both sexes, and a still more opprobrious term applied to that which is usually considered the weaker of the two, were among the

least and most common of the epithets which the Exonians of the days of Edward I used towards each other in their anger. Women are often brought before the court for slander and mischief-making. Thus, a young woman, or girl, apparently, whose name was Catherine, daughter of William de Wyterleghe, was accused of having "on Tuesday in the feast of the apostles Philip and James last past, and on other days, spread rumours among the goldsmiths of the city and the cordwainers, by which great strife and contention arose between the said parties." Quarrels and assaults occurred continually, and sometimes assumed an alarming character of violence. Acts of violence, indeed, are very common; but in this roll they are seldom told with sufficient detail to make them interesting. Here is an example taken from an inquest of the grand jury :

" Philip Hamelyn, and Roger, the porter of the castle of Exeter, and others unknown, in the night of the eve of the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist last past, in the High-street of Exeter, outside the door of John Horn the younger, made an assault on the said John and John Oblyn with staves and other arms. And the said John Horn, when he saw that the said Philip intended to strike him and the said John Oblyn, stood on his defence for himself and his companion, and drew his sword to defend them, and struck the aforesaid Philip on his hand with his sword, and drew blood; and so with that blow the said parties withdrew without doing at that time any evil between them."

In another instance, spite against the individual appears to have been wreaked on an innocent animal which belonged to him. Robert de London complained against Henry le Ken, called "Lameinthemouth," that—

" On Saturday last past, when the said Robert had a pig, worth ijs., walking in the High-street of the city, before the door of the house of the said Henry, the said Henry rushed out of his said house with a certain staff, and struck the said pig and broke his legs and reins, and deteriorated him to the loss of xvijd. and more, and did other enormities towards him,"—that is, towards Robert de London.

A pig worth two shillings must have been very ill treated to be damaged to the amount of more than eighteen pence. I may quote another instance of cruelty to animals, which led to an action for damages. Richard Uphulle, the taverner, lent a horse to Thomas de Teeceborne, worth eight marks of silver, to ride to Teignmouth; and Thomas de Teeceborne

beat the horse first with a stick, and then with a knife, to such a degree that on its return it could scarcely walk so far as Keneford, and there he was obliged to leave it for some days before it had recovered sufficiently to return home.

Robbery was almost as common as battery, and was sometimes perpetrated on the person openly and with violence. Here is an example, which at the same time makes us acquainted with the fact that there was water, and perhaps an island in it, between the castle and the town; and that the money of Tours, in France, was current apparently on a large scale in Exeter :

“ Michael Coramer” (or Toramer, for the reading is rather uncertain) “ citizen of Exeter, institutes proceedings against Luke de la Cornere, because the latter, on the Thursday next after Palm Sunday, at Guernesey, in the water between the castle and the town, feloniously plundered the said Michael of money, both in white and black, to the value of seven score and seven pounds and a half, in money of Tours.”

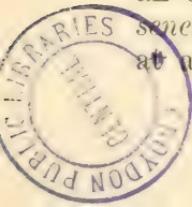
People in these times seem, indeed, to have sought every opportunity of trespassing upon the property of their neighbours, of whatever description it might be. One Simon Plukes is brought before the court for trespassing upon (that is, for stealing) the wheat of his neighbours. A common subject of action in the court arose out of a man’s trespassing upon his neighbour’s land; or he added buildings to his own house, so as to close up his neighbour’s right of way or block up his light; or, which was a common subject of complaint, he made gutters which carried off the water from his own house upon that of his neighbour, or into his yard. People were equally ready to trespass on the public, and individuals are often charged with offences against the municipal regulations respecting building; and still more frequently for throwing refuse, often of the most offensive description, into the middle of the streets and public places. Among other such offences recorded in this roll, there is a complaint against a number of fishmongers who were in the habit of throwing the entrails of their fish into the High-street, “*ad nocumentum proborum hominum*,” to the annoyance of the *prudhommes*, or citizens. The sanitary regulations of this period were not very perfect.

Cheating, as I have already hinted, appeared at this time

to be the order of the day; and innumerable instances of fraud, especially in obtaining unjust possession of land and houses, and in retaining money and property to which people had no right, occur in this roll of the thirtieth year of King Edward I. The following is a rather curious illustration of the history of the port. A ship, belonging to a skipper named John de la Bourne, had been freighted by one Joel le Dukes (perhaps, to judge by his name, a Jew) to bring home from Gascony to the port of Topsham, within a certain time, ten pipes of wine; but, according to Joel's plea, when other sailors put to sea, "the said John maliciously and seditiously went to the port of Teignmouth, and there repos'd (*repausavit*) until the season for sailing was past." John de la Bourne pleaded in defence that he was driven by tempest and misfortune of the sea on a strange land, which prevented the fulfilment of his contract. This shews that the port of Topsham had already begun to usurp the trade of that of Exeter at least nine or ten years before the date of the great quarrel between the citizens and the Earl of Devon, the lord of Topsham, when the latter partially destroyed the navigation of the upper part of the estuary. It is probable that the rivalry between Topsham and Exeter had long existed, when the Earl of Devon took the opportunity of the revolution which placed a minor on the English throne to carry out his views by open violence.

Such are a few of the lights which this roll throws on the condition, on the manners, on the feelings of the citizens of Exeter in the year 1302,—that is, five centuries and a half ago. I am not aware if there are earlier rolls of the same class, though I should think it probable that there are; but from that time to the present they seem to be preserved in a tolerably complete series. I have examined one or two belonging to the reign of Edward III, which contain similar entries to those of the older record just noticed, but entered less in detail. Among other offences of this period may be mentioned, as of very common occurrence, the running away of apprentices and servants, the treatment of whom was probably harsh.

The accounts of the corporation of Exeter were kept by an officer who, in the fourteenth century, was entitled the *senescallus et receptor*, or steward and receiver; but who, at a later period, had the title of *receptor generalis*, the



receiver-general. Every year he carefully entered the various items of the corporation receipts and expenditure in a roll, which was called a "comptus" roll, or account roll, and which was laid up among the municipal records. The receipts are generally rents, fees, and other payments, which are uniform in their character, and are chiefly useful in a topographical point of view; but the disbursements are of a much more miscellaneous and varying character, and embrace very extensive illustrations of social as well as of political history. These records also appear in Exeter to be carefully preserved through the fourteenth and subsequent centuries, and perhaps even from an earlier period. The earliest with which I have met belongs to the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth years of Edward III, or A.D. 1364-5. Warin Bailly was then steward and receiver. The heads of expenditure under which the most interesting entries occur are those of "necessary expenses" and "foreign expenses." Among the former the following occur in this roll: "For parchment for the court roll, vs. viijd.; for ink for the year, viijd." These charges occur regularly in all the rolls, the amount of parchment varying much, but the ink remains uniformly at the charge of eightpence. It may, perhaps, be well here to remark that all these documents are written in Latin. Considerable expenses were incurred this year in buildings and repairs, especially of the town gates. One item of expense is, "for stopping up a window in the gate, vd.," and a key for a box cost fourpence. The prisoners in the jail seem also to have proved expensive luxuries, and we have this year the following entries relating to them: "A chain to keep the prisoners, xxd.; cords for binding the prisoners, iiijd.; a pair of gyves, xvjd.; another pair of gyves, iiijd."

From the "foreign expenses" of this year we learn the expensive character of correspondence by letter in the middle of the fourteenth century; the hospitality it was found necessary to shew to the king's justices when they came on their circuit; the price of foreign wines, which appears to have been uniformly eightpence a gallon until the close of the century, when we shall find it sinking to sixpence a gallon; and the practice in this city, which enjoyed a great trade in wine, of making presents of wine to persons of distinction, or to men who were very useful to the city; and

the amount of customs paid to the Earl of Devon, which are in this year much lower than usual, shewing perhaps some impediment to the trade. The items alluded to are as follows :

“ Paid to Adam Monte for carrying a letter to John Delves, to London, on the business of the city, xs.

“ To two men with two horses *pro cariag. fac.* as far as Salisbury with John Delves, ijs. vjd.

“ In the expenses of the king’s justices at the assize in autumn, xxxijs.

“ In wood bought for making the dinner, vjd.

“ In two quarters of oats sent to the same, iiijs.

“ In hay sent to the same, xiijd.

“ In three galons of wine sent to the same, ijs.

“ In j galon of wine given to Stephen Putel and John Yatteford, viijd.

“ Paid to the lord, the Earl of Devon, for custom of wines appertaining to him, vijs. ijd.”

The next “comptus” roll I take up belongs to the 42nd and 43rd Edward III, two years later than the former, and contains the separate heading of “gifts and presents,” among which the following occur :

“ Two galons, one potel, of red wine, and one potel of white wine, sent to the justices of the lord the king at Lent, xixd.

“ Given to a certain courier of the lord the king on the Tuesday next after the feast of St. Barnabas, xijd.

“ In a tunic given to William Wyke, ix.s.”

In the “necessary expenses” of this year we find that the parchment for the court roll cost ten shillings and fourpence, and the ink, as usual, eightpence. By comparing the quantity of the parchment in the roll for each year, with the charge made for it in the steward’s accounts, we might ascertain the exact price of that article in the fourteenth century. Again, in this year, considerable repairs were made in the Guildhall, and especially a wall was built in the cellar, concerning which we have the charge, “for candles bought for making the wall, iiijd.; and again, “in cleaning the cellar, ijd.”

The following entries occur among the “foreign expenses” of this year :

“ Paid to John Hill for the expenses of being a knight to Parliament, at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, xij.s. iiijd.

“ For pears on the day of the election of the mayor, xijd.

"For four gallons of wine on the same day, ijs. viijd.

"For two galons of wine sent to Roger Plente, and two galons of wine sent to Martin Batteshill, the same day, iijs. viijd.

"In rushes for the Gildhall and soler for the year, vjd.

"Paid to minstrels on Wednesday in the week of Pentecost, when the men of the city made their show of arms before the Earl of Devon, xs.

"To the same, on the Saturday next before the feast of St. Augustine, for the same, xijd.

"Paid to Wyteleghe, riding on horseback to the justices to ask them to dinner, half a mark.

"In the expenses of the justices of the lord the king at the assize in Lent, viij*l.* vijs. iijd. ob."

It is hardly necessary to remark, on these extracts, that, in mediaeval England, the representatives in Parliament were always paid by their constituents. Pears occur frequently as presents, and they seem to have been considered in this county as the most valuable species of fruit—they appear to have been looked upon as a necessary gift at the election of the mayor. The floors of the Guildhall and soler, or chamber, were usually strewed with rushes instead of a carpet. There appears to have been this year an extraordinary muster of the citizens of Exeter in arms, at which minstrels were employed, and apparently paid rather high wages.

The compotus rolls of the reign of Richard II are especially interesting, for the citizens became more personally interested in the struggles of political parties, and their "foreign expenses" were greatly increased. Among the "gifts and presents" in the first year of the new reign, 1377-8, were, "French bread," which I suppose is the meaning of *panis franciscus*, "wine sent to the Earl of Devon and the Lord of Latymer, after the feast of the Epiphany," and wine sent also to Philip de Courtenay and his brother, Henry Percehay, Guy de Brienne, and others. In the necessary expenses of this year are reckoned for parchment the rather large sum of sixteen shillings, and for ink eight pence, and I may remark that the increase of the quantity of parchment used in the roll of the court, shows, as a matter of course, a proportional increase in the number of cases brought before it, and a decrease in the morality of the city. Extensive repairs were also this year carried on in the Guildhall and other public buildings; and we

have charges "for keeping the conduit near Crikelpit, xijd," and for keeping another conduit near North-gate, vjd. Among the items of the "foreign expenses" are these :— "In pears on the day of election, xiiijd. Two gallons of wine the same day, xvjd. In the accounts of the mayor and steward for their duties in London, iiijs. The mayor and steward had no doubt gone to London to obtain the renewal of the municipal charter on the accession of a new king. On the back of this roll is the following entry :— "*Item fuit allocatio de ixli. xvijs. jd. pro diversis expensis circa bargeam hoc anno,*"—there was an allowance of nine pounds seventeen shillings and one penny for diverse expenses about the barge this year. The barge was no doubt the ship of war which, according to the Exeter historians, the citizens fitted out this year, at their own expense, for the king's service against the French.

The compotus roll of the 11th of Richard II, A.D. 1387-8, shows a considerable increase in the expenditure of the corporation, the nature of which will be best understood by a selection from among the various articles of which it consisted. Among the "gifts and presents" of this year are the following :—

"For two galons of wine sent to the Earl of Devon at Hedges, xvjd.

"In the expenses of the Lord John Holand and his family, when he first came from Bayene (Bayonne) into England, all expenses reckoned, xxxijs. iijd.

"In bread, pears, and wine, for the said lord and Philip de Courtenay, when they came from London to Devon, vijs. viijd.; namely, eight galons of red wine bought of Ralph Swain, one galon and one potel of white wine bought of Adam Scot, per gal. viijd.

"Two galons of wine sent to George Cary, xvjd.

"In bread and wine given to John Kantwode and William Horby, commissioners of the lord the king, vjd. ob.

"To the friars, preachers, and minors, *ven. ad process.*, by the precept of the mayor, iiijs.

"Two galons of wine sent to William Rykyl and his companion, justices for the assize, xijd.

"To the same justices, sent at the same time, five galons and one potel, at viijd. a galon, iijs. viijd."

The Lord Holland was the royal favourite a few years afterwards created Duke of Exeter, and Sir Philip Courtenay, who was the king's cousin, had in 1385 been

appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. The list of "necessary expenses" this year is very long. Seven shillings and twopence were spent in parchment for the roll of the court, and eightpence for ink. Much money was also expended on the buildings of the Guildhall, on pentises for the "fleisfolde," or fleshmarket, adjoining to the Guildhall, and on the prison. Among the entries are :—

- "One 'lynterne' for the window of the prison, vjd.
- "Clamps of iron for the window of the hall, xijd.
- "Two pounds of lead for the same window, ijd.
- "For cleaning the hall, jd.
- "For the making of one 'skylnyngstole' new *ad tast.*, xxd.
- "For the carriage of the same to Crollediche, viijd.
- "For mending the mace of John Bethelet, one of the bailiffs, vjd.
- "For mending the mace of Thomas, the other bailiff, vjd.
- "In making a *fusille*, new, for the mace of John Densterre, the third bailiff, ijs.
- "In silver for the same, vijs. viijd.
- "In making the mace of the same, ijs."

The "skyning-stool," a word I have not met with before, was probably the cucking-stool, which thus appears to have been located in the Crolle-ditch already mentioned. Among the "foreign payments" this year are :—

- "In wine given to the mayor's taxer, vjd. ob.
- "In two galons of wine sent to Richard Bosoun, the new mayor, from the council, xijd.
- "In two galons of wine sent to Robert Wilford, the old mayor, xvjd.
- "For pears bought on the day of the election, xixd.
- "In three galons of wine bought on the same day, ijs.
- "Paid to Peter Pledour for his wages being at the parliament of the lord the king for the county, for two times, ixli. xvs. ivd.
- "As a gift to the minstrels of Lord Thomas de Percehay, by order of the mayor, xijd.
- "In gift to a certain envoy of the lord the king, by order of the mayor, iijs. iiijd.
- "Paid for having a copy of the parliament, iijs. iiijd.
- "In cords and halters for binding and hanging thieves, ijd. ob.
- "For bread and beer given to prisoners, ijd.
- "To a man employed in striking off the gyves of the said prisoners, ob."

From the charges relating to the hanging of thieves in this roll, we might imagine that there was a general clearing

off of prisoners in the most expeditious manner, a grand jail-delivery. The prisoners of Exeter were allowed beer with their bread, whereas the usual old notion of prison diet was “bread and water.”

I have, perhaps, given examples enough from these rolls, to show you—very imperfectly it is true—their character and historical interest. We are reaching the close of the fourteenth century. A roll of the 19th Richard II, A.D. 1395-6, when Thomas Wandry was receiver, contains a greater number of “gifts and presents” than any which I have yet examined, among which is a great quantity of wine, which now sold at sixpence a gallon. It was a period when right and justice, favour, protection, everything in fact, were to be had only for money and bribes.

I leap over a century and a half, and take up the compotus roll of Henry Hull, receiver-general in the 35th and 36th of Elizabeth, A.D. 1594-5. The total change in manners and sentiments is at once apparent in this roll. At the time of the mayor’s banquet, money was given to the prisoners in the jails; and apples were distributed to the school-boys “at Mr. Maiors dore.” The apples cost ijs. vjd. Among other entries at this time we find

“Item, to two wayters (*i.e., watchmen*), that none shoulde bye victualls in the shamells in the Lente, xs.

“Item, for wyne and suger geven to an Iryshe lorde, ijs. viijd.

“Item, to the beedylls for whyppinge, iijs. iiijd.

“To a footeman which caryed lettres to London, xxs.”

The ordinary way of sending letters at this time was by a footman, and it continued so till the establishment of the more modern system of post. The manner in which the Irish lord is spoken of, without even taking the trouble to ascertain his name or title, is rather remarkable. It may be remarked also that at this time salmon had become the rival of wine in the article of presents to great people; that law expenses had become a very heavy item of municipal expenditure; and that much money was still spent in buildings and repairs.

The latest record at which I have looked is the compotus of James Tucker, “*receptor generalis*,” or receiver-general, in the 8th of Charles I, A.D. 1632. Some degree of change had again taken place in society, which might be illustrated

by a comparison of this roll with the others of the first few years of the same reign, but I will merely quote one or two items of expenditure from this year, in which Exeter seems to have laboured under a severe visitation of the plague. They are taken from what were now termed "extraordinary expenses."

"Payde ffor whippinge of roags this year, 10s.

"Payd one Lavers, whowe keepte the peste house for one year, £4.

"Payde 20s. by order of the house, in the sicknes tyme, at the beginnge of it, to sende for a man out off Sumer set sheare, on John Gatts, about settinge the poore a worcke, his horse and charges came to 20s., which I payde and was promisde I should have it againe, but never had it."

James Tucker speaks despondingly and despairingly of other payments which he had made in the time of the sickness, and which had not been repaid to him. It shows us the confusion which had attended this great calamity.

I have, I fear, already taken up your time with notes which I offer with considerable diffidence, because, as I have said before, they have been made in haste and under great disadvantages; for had we come later, when all the municipal records of Exeter will be brought out and properly arranged so that I could put my hand on what I would, I might, doubtless, have treated the subject at greater length, and have laid before you facts of greater individual importance and interest. There are many classes of records in your municipal archives to which I have not alluded, which are also of historical interest. As it is, I trust that I have said enough to show you that those records deserve to be carefully preserved--not only to be preserved, but to be studied ; that, to the historian, and to the patriot, they are not the mere records of the doings of a corporate body which concern only itself, but that they form a valuable part of the materials of our national history. In them principally we can study the history of the framework of our social system. May they, therefore, be rescued from the dangers to which they had been exposed in past times, and may every municipal corporation have a town clerk who appreciates and respects them as much as Mr. John Gidley.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF DOMESTIC MANNERS DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.¹

BY THE REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.

THE EXPENSE ROLL OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF HOLLAND AND HEREFORD.

THE illustrious lady whose expenditure will next be examined, was the eighth daughter of Edward I. She was born at the castle of Rhuddlan, in Flintshire, in the year 1282. This royal fortress had then been erected about seven years, and her father had already visited it on several occasions. In expectation of the queen's confinement, he now made here a lengthened sojourn. He arrived July 8th, and remained until the 23rd of August. It was during this month that the Princess Elizabeth was born. Rhuddlan had been remarkable for the deadly conflict it witnessed betwixt the English and the Welsh. Subsequently it is equally known for the statute enacted here. The birth of the Princess Elizabeth imparts to it additional historical celebrity.

Before this last event happened considerable outlay had been made on the royal buildings in anticipation of the queen's confinement. An account of these works has already been printed; but it may be illustrative of the present part of the subject to refer to a few particulars which they furnish. The queen was churched at Rhuddlan, and gave on the occasion an entertainment in which minstrelsy formed a prominent part, as much as £10 being given the performers for this display of their talents. That this was a customary way of rejoicing will further appear from observing it practised, under similar circumstances, at the purification of the daughter whose birth was now so joyfully kept. The queen further offered oblations and wax-lights at the mass, according to the usage of the age.

The first notice we glean of the Princess Elizabeth, is the fact of her betrothal at the early age of two years, to John, son of Florence, Earl of Holland. In 1297, when just arrived at the age of fifteen, she was married to him in

¹ In continuation from pp. 213-220 *ante.*

the Priory church of Ipswich. Her husband was then not more than sixteen. Of her early days a few scattered notices have been preserved in the wardrobe accounts, as well as in the interesting series of letters addressed to her by Prince Edward, but they will scarcely call for attention in the present place.

In about a fortnight after the marriage, the Earl set sail for Holland from the port of Harwich. It was not until the month of August ensuing that the Countess of Holland followed her husband. She had evidently no strong affection for him, and from subsequent events that transpired regarding the difficulty of obtaining her dowry, and the unpopular character of Earl John's advisers, this part of her married life must have been spent in considerable disquietude.

On the 27th of August, 1297, Edward I passed over with his daughter into Flanders.² It was on this occasion that Prince Edward began to attest the royal writs on behalf of the crown, and he continued acting in this official capacity until his father's return, on the 14th of March following.³

A small document has been preserved which gives a list of the jewels which the Princess carried with her into Holland.⁴ From this inventory we may select the following as being those articles best worth notice :—A silver cross with an image of Christ sitting, worth one hundred shillings, a silver cup worth seventy shillings, a ship of silver for holding frankincense, a censer, an aspersoire of silver, a bell of silver, a silver dish for alms, eight pitchers of silver, six cups of silver, a plate with a foot for spices ; fifty-five cups, silver gilt, some with feet and covers, some of which have belonged to the Abbots of Hyde, Leicester, St. Alban's, and Chester ; a girdle with pearls, and a purse with pearls embroidered with the arms of the king ; four nouches ; fifteen clasps. It will be seen that most of these precious articles were used for the service of the chapel. Another little document relates to her alms, which are accounted

¹ Expense roll of Edward I at Rhuddlan. (*Archæologia*, v, xvi.)

² Calend. Rot. Pat., p. 59.

³ Itinerary, Edw. I. MS. penes authoris.

⁴ Rymer, *Fœd.*, b. i, pp. 3, 189. It is entitled on the dorso, “ De liberacione Iocalibus per custodem Garderobæ ad opus Dominæ Elizabethæ filiæ ipsius Regis Commitissæ Hollandiæ transfretantis proprias anno xxv.”

for at the rate of two pence daily for thirty-three days. Though on the festival of All Saints the amount was greater.¹

John de Weston, Knight, was appointed as the attorney of the Princess to receive the above-mentioned jewels, and they were assigned to him by Dominus John de Drokeneſford, the keeper of the king's wardrobe, twenty-five days before the king set sail with his daughter for Flanders.

In the church of Weston, in Shropshire, are two wooden effigies appropriated to knights of this name, one of them wears costume differing from that usually seen in knights of the period. As this effigy carries a gipcière at his side, it is not unlikely that this monument was intended to represent the John de Weston who was employed by the Princess Elizabeth, the purse by his side being a mark of his official duties.

Before Edward sailed for Flanders with his daughter, he dispatched thither Richard de Winton, clerk, and William Clout, armiger, one object of their visit being to announce the arrival of their royal master,² as well to the Earl himself as to convey the same intelligence to the nobility and the inhabitants of the principal cities.

The particulars of this voyage have been written with the usual attention to minute details and accuracy. They left Eltham on the 2nd day of August, and were absent until the 16th day of the same month. The first night, being Monday, they passed at Newton, thence they went to Canterbury and Sandwich, from which port they sailed on Sunday, in the cog called *St. Andrew*, of Bayonne. Although a contract had been made by two individuals, the mayor of Sandwich being one, to take them to La Swyne, in Flanders, for £6 : 13 : 4, the captain was unwilling to sail until he had received eight days wages for himself and crew. He was to take sixpence a day, and his twenty-four sailors threepence each, so he was paid forty-five shillings and sixpence beforehand. Besides this there was a payment of a penny for "God's silver," for freighting the said ship. (In argento Dei pro affretatione dicta navis.) William

¹ "In oblacionibus dominae Comitissae Hollandiae a festo Sti. Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi usque festivitatem Omnim Sanctorum proximam sequentem."

² "Expensæ Ricardi de Weston clerici, et Willielmi Clout armigeri regis cunctium in Flandria et in Burgundia in nuncio regis et redeuntium."

Clout and Richard de Winton took their horses, and there occurs an entry for shipping them, and others for the hay, oats, and litter required for their use. On the Tuesday after they sailed they reached La Cluse ; on Thursday they returned from Bruges ; on Friday they were obliged to lie to at Blankeberghe, on account of bad weather ; on Saturday the royal emissaries entered another ship with a messenger of the Countess of Flanders ; late on Sunday evening they reached Harwich ; from hence they journeyed through Colchester, Chelmsford, Tilbury, Rochester, and Maidstone, to Todmere.

The King landed at Sandwich on the 14th of March in the following year, having left the Countess of Holland behind him. The business of her dowry had never been fully settled, and a fresh cause of sorrow awaited her. Her husband died in less than two years after her father's departure. Every tie connecting her with a foreign country was now broken, and she returned to her first home. For three years she continued a widow, but at the end of this period, Edward united her to Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. It is almost needless to say that he was one of the most powerful barons of England, remarkable for his vast possessions, as well as for the favour shewn him by the monarch. This marriage was performed at Westminster in 1302. Since the death of his father, five years before, he had been constantly engaged in the Scottish wars, and had thus prominently come under the King's notice. It was on one of these expeditions that we find the Countess of Hereford accompanying her husband, probably forming part of the royal suite, evidently in immediate communication with the king, if not living with him, when he was in array against his enemies in Scotland, in the thirty-second year of his reign.

In the month of May, 1303, being the previous year, Edward entered Scotland by way of Newcastle and Alnwick. He continued here until August, 1304, when he travelled southwards by way of Yetholm and Morpeth, Humphry de Bohun in all probability accompanied him, as we find from the compotus of the daily expenses of the Countess that there was no outlay on the 27th July, when it opens at Linliscu, because she was then with her husband. On this day the king was at Stirling, nor did he cross the

border for nearly a month. The Countess in the mean while was in that situation that rendered it desirable for her to seek a place of quietness and repose. She now set out for Yorkshire. On Tuesday the 28th she slept at Edinburgh; on Wednesday at Haddington; on Thursday she was sheltered at the rugged and sea beaten castle of Dunbar: on Friday she was received at the monastery of Coldingham; on Saturday and Sunday she was at Berwick-upon-Tweed. From this place her route was as follows daily:—Bamborough, Warkworth, Newbiggin, Tynemouth, Durham, Ketton, Lessingby, Ditton, to Knaresborough, where she remained for two months. Her household expenses during this period are kept distinct from those of her husband, which commence on the 15th October, after the roll of the Countess closes.

I will now proceed to examine the outlay, printing four entire days, those she passed at Bamborough, Warkworth, Newbiggin, and Knaresborough, and subsequently making such extracts as it is believed will best illustrate her daily habit of living.

“EXPENSE COMITISSÆ HEREFORD.—32 EDW. I.

“*Bamburg.*

“Panis de stauro
vjs. ijd. vinum de
stauro v. sextarii et
dimid. Cerevisia iiiij.

Die Lunæ sequente apud Baumburgh. *Dispensæ.* Panis de stauro regis. Portagium panis et florum viijd. In stipendiis ij. carucarum carriandarum panem et flores cum officio coquinæ ijs. vjd.

Buttelaria. Vinum de stauro regis. Cervisia empta xiiij. lagenæ pretium lagenæ ijd. et x. lagenæ cervisiae pretium lagenæ jd. iijs. ijd. In portagio vini et cervisiae de celerario usque batillum viijd. In stipendiis unius carectæ cariantis butillum ijs. *Coquina.* Dimidium carcossæ bovis et ij. carcossæ multonum de stauro regis. iii. quarteria carnis bovum empta iiijs. & xd. Dimidium porci emptum xvjd. i. carcossia et dimidium multonis empta xxjd. *Puletria.* vi. gallinæ de stauro regis js. Gallina empta iiijd. xvjd. pulleti empti xvjd. j. purellus emptus viijd. Gruwell et pisa vjd. *Scutellaria.* Busca xd. ob. *Camera.* Littere vjd. Vadia liberata familiae vs. *Stabulum.* Fenum predictis xxxvj. equis iiijs. jd. Avena pro x. equis ad decenam & xxvj. de communi ad dimidium bushelli j. quarteria dimidium j. bushellus & octo quarteria iiijs. vjd. Littera xvd. Fenum viijd. Vadia garconum cum lumine iijs. xd. ob. Passagium comitissæ & totius hernesiae ejusdem ultra Twedam js. Cariagium unius carectæ carriandæ hernesiam garderobæ xvijd.

“*Summa xlxs.*”

The castle of Bamborough, where we find the Countess thus passing a day, is one of those magnificent fortresses that must strike the beholder at the present time equally with astonishment and awe. Rising boldly above the sea on the extreme north-eastern coast of Northumberland, it is a landmark for the sailor who passes by, whilst it also overlooks the country with regal dignity, towering with sublimity into the expanse of air. It remained in the possession of the Crown through several reigns, and was the temporal residence of the English monarchs when they travelled to their dominions across the Tweed. It was not only an important stronghold, but a storehouse for munitions of war and for the common exigencies of life.¹

From Bamborough the Countess travelled near the coast to the castle of Warkworth. At this time it belonged to Robert Fitz Roger, the nobler family of the Percys not yet having added it to their vast possessions. Still, within view of the sea, she also looked down upon the meanderings of the Coquet, the sweetest stream that washes the lands of Northumberland. Attractive as the spot undoubtedly was, her sojourn here was only for a night. She passed on to another resting-place, within easy distance, and halted at Newbiggin for the same time, and then sought the more comfortable lodgings of the Abbot of Tynemouth. As will be seen from the current expenses, her style of living at the feudal residence of the Fitz Rogers, was just the same as that at Bamborough. At Newbiggin, however, she was accommodated in a chamber less suitable to her rank, as a sum of money was expended in cleansing it for her reception. The current charges for these two days are as follows :—

“Warkworth.

“Panis de stauro vjs. vjd. Vinum de stauro viij. sextarii dimid. cerevisiae v.	Die Martis sequente apud Werkeworth. <i>Dispensæ.</i> Panis de stauro regis. Sal jd. Carriagium florum vjd. Furnagium panis domus ijd. In uno sacco empto pro floro dominico impo-liberatae. Cervisiæ emptæ xxvij. lagenæ pretium lagenæ jd. js. iiijd. In stipendiis j. garcone, vigiliis et custode carrectarum cum stauro per j. noctem iiijd.
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¹ I have printed a “comptus” relating to the stores of Bamborough Castle (5-8 Henry III) in the *Feudal and Military History of Northumberland*, Appendix, cxxxiii.

Cariagium panis et butleriae pro j. cariagio ijs. *Coquina*. j. carcobia bovis empta vs xd. iiiij. carcobia multonum emptae pretium carcobia xvjd., vs. Portagium jd. *Puletria*. j. auca empta vjd. iiiij. porcetti, pretium porcetti vjd., ijs. vij. gallinæ. xij. puletti de stauro regis. cc. ova xvjd. Portagium vd. Lac ijd. Putura gallina hac die et proxima precedente ijd. *Salsaria* jd. *Camera*. Littera vjd. Cariagium garderobe ijs. Vadia liberata familiæ vs. *Stabulum*. Fenum pro xxxvj. equis xxijd. ob. Avena pro x. equis ad decenam et xxvj. equis de communi ad dimidium bushelli ij quarteria dimidium bushelli pretium quarterii iiijs., xs. vjd. Littera xxjd. Ferrum vijjd. Vadia garconum cum lumine ijs. xd. ob. In stipendiis ij. plaustrorum cariantium officia coquinæ ijs.

“ Summa xlxs. xjd.

“Begging.

“Panis de stauro ...s. ...d Vinum de stauro vj. sextarii dimidium cerevisia v. liberatæ.

carectæ ijs. *Coquina*. Carne bovis emptum xijd. Carne multonum, js. iiijd. Allecarum cc. dimidium xvjd. ob. Merling vijd. Plays ijd. Portagium ijd. *Puletria*. xij. gallinæ de stauro regis. j. auca empta vjd. iiiij. pulleti empti vjd. Potagium iiijd. Ova iiijd. Portagium jd. Butirum jd. *Scutellum*. Busca xd. *Salsaria*. Vinum acrum vijjd. Littera xvijd. Mundacio camerarum cum potagio ijd. Vadia liberata familiæ vs. *Stabulum*. Fenum pro dictis xxxvj. equis iijs. jd. Avena pro x. equis ad decenam et xxvj. de communi ad dimidium bushelli j. quarterium dimidium j. bushellus pretium quarterii ijs., vijs. xd. ob. Littera xvjd. Fenum vijjd. Vadia garconum cum lumine ijs. xd. ob. Cariagium garderobæ pro j. carecta xvij.

“ Summa xls.

“Tynemouth.

“Panis de stauro ijs. vjd. Vinum de stauro v. picheria cerevisia iv. liberatæ.

ijs. *Coquina*. Dimidium carcobia bovis ijs. jd. j. carcobia multonis xijjd. *Puletria*. vj gallinæ de stauro regis. iij. gallinæ de emptione iiijd. ob. vijj. pulleti vijjd. j. anca vjd. *Scutellaria*. Busca vjd. Portagium ijd. Sal ijd. Omnia ista pro gentaculo. Panis, butleria, coquina et scutellaria ex dono Prioris de Tynemouth ad cenam. Carriagium garderobæ

Dic Jovis sequente apud Tynemouth. *Dispensæ*. Panis de stauro regis. Panis de emptione vjd. Carriagium panis xijd. *Butleria*. Vinum de stauro regis: cerevisia de emptione xvj. lagenæ pretium lagenæ jd., xvjd. Carriagium butleriae ijs. *Coquina*. Dimidium carcobia bovis ijs. jd. j. carcobia multonis xijjd. *Puletria*. vj gallinæ de stauro regis. iij. gallinæ de emptione iiijd. ob. vijj. pulleti vijjd. j. anca vjd. *Scutellaria*. Busca vjd. Portagium ijd. Sal ijd. Omnia ista pro gentaculo. Panis, butleria, coquina et scutellaria ex dono Prioris de Tynemouth ad cenam. Carriagium garderobæ

xvijd. Vadia liberata familiae vs. *Stabulum*. Fenum pro dictis xxxvj. equis et ij. equis domini Jacobi de la Planche iijs. xd. Avena pro x. equis ad decenam, et xxvj. equis de communi ad dimidium bushelli jj. quarteria dimidium jj. bushelli pretium quarterii iijs. iiijd., ixs. ijd. *Littera* xijd. *Ferrum* vijjd. Vadia garconum cum lumine iijs. xd. ob. *Necessaria*. In iij. clippis et clavis ferri emptis pro una caretta emendanda ixd.

“Summa xxxvij. iiijd.

It will be seen from the foregoing extract that the consumption for the luncheon or early dinner, “gentaculum,” was considerable, half an ox, a sheep, eighteen fowls, and a goose, being required for the suite. “*Omnia ista pro gentaculo.*” The prior of Tynemouth must have had rather expensive visitors to entertain at his table.

The Countess of Hereford reached Knaresborough on Wednesday the 12th of August. Being now settled in the castle, whose ruins only still exist, we meet with notices of a more general character. Before extracting them, however, the entries for a single day shall be adduced. They will serve to show the regularity with which the accounts are kept, as well as the domestic economy of this great household.

“Knaresburgh.

“*Vinum de stauro de Bev.* iiij. sextarii dimidium, et de stauro de Cnareburgh x. sextarii. *Cera vjlb.*

Die Mercurii sequenti apud Knaresburgh. *Dispensæ*. Panis de liberatione ballivi iijs. Panis de emptione iiijs. *Buttilaria*. *Vinum de stauro regis*. *Cervisia de liberatione ballivis xxx. lagenæ* pretium lagenæ jd., xxijd. ò. *Cariagium per unum equum* iijd. et cariagium per unum caretam xvijd. *Coquina*. iij. quarteria carcros. bovis vijs. vijjd. q^a. ij. carcros. multonum, pretium multonis xvd. ò., ijs. vijd. *Allec.* c. dimidium xijd. *Morue*. iijd. *Piscis aquæ recentis* iijd. *Puletria*. xij. gallinæ xvijd. vi. pulli vjd. cc. ova xvijd. *Lac* vjd. Pisæ et potagium vd. ò. *Portagium* ijd. *Salsaria* jd. *Scutellum*. Sal j. bus-sellus vjd. *Portagium aquæ* ijd. *Mundatio lardariae* ijd. *Camera*. *Cariagium garderobæ* xvij. *Littera* vjs. *Cariagium ejusdem* ijs. de liberatione vicecomitis. Vadia liberata famulis vs. *Stabulum*. Fenum pro dictis xxxvj equis xxjd. *Cariagium ejusdem* vjd. Avena pro x. equis ad decenam et xxvj. equis de communi ad dimidium busselli duo quarteria dimidii unius busselli, pretium quarterii ijs., vs. ijd. *Littera* xxijd. *Cariagium ejusdem* xijd. Vadia garconum cum lumine iijs. xd. ob. Vadia Ricardi de Chesham foratoris existentis extra curiam iijd. *Ex-pensæ Rogeri de Markle* clerici officiariorum existentis apud Eboracum

in negotiis dominæ Comitissæ xxd. *Necessaria.* In ix. libris luminum emptis xvijd. In expensis unius equi infirmati apud Dunbar retro Comitissam ibidem morantis et venientis apud Cnaresburg per xiiij. dies, percipiendo per diem iijd., iij.s. iijd. In marsecaleia ejusdem vd.

“ Summa lxiijs. xd. ob. q.”

The cost of the first entire week, from Linlithgow to Berwick-upon-Tweed, was £8 : 18 : 2½ ; of the second when she departed from Durham, £14 : 11 : 2½ ; the first week of her residence at Knaresborough amounted to £14 : 11 : 2½ ; the corresponding week of the following month rose to £20 : 16 : 4½. It may thus be assumed, that as the outlay fluctuated betwixt these two sums, the average outgoings were at the rate of £17 : 0 : 10 weekly. Besides the usual consumption of wine, ale, meat, and poultry, there are charges under the kitchen for three lampreys at 6d. each, a salmon at 13d., twenty John Dores at 8d., besides codd-gling, coggess, haddog, merling, morue, plays, barbell, pickerell, flunder, perch, and other fresh water fish. The carcase and a half of an ox was worth 5s. 10½d., two carcases and a half of sheep 2s. 11d. Whilst the Countess was travelling she used thirty-six horses, close upon the same number as Joanna de Valentia. These horses were of different value, and were differently fed. The expense of carriage forms a large and constantly recurring item in all these mediæval accounts.

Early in the month of October the Countess of Hereford was delivered of a son. The day of her purification was marked by much festivity. We have already seen that Queen Eleanor celebrated a similar event on the birth of the Countess herself at Rhuddlan. Her daughter now followed the custom of entertaining her followers with minstrelsy. On this occasion Robert the king's minstrel with fifteen of his companions received six mares for making minstrelsy before the Countess and her assembled guests. It was a time for mirth and display, and in addition to this entertainment, Nicholas Pychard gave the more remarkable one of exhibiting a leopard. This animal had but recently been introduced into England, and, no doubt, was an object of great astonishment to the Yorkshiremen. When the Cham of Tartary received the Embassy¹ sent to him by the

¹ The particulars of this earliest embassy to the East have been printed,



father of the Countess, about ten years previously, amongst the presents he returned to England were leopards. It is more than doubtful whether these animals reached Europe, as the expenses for their keeping cease before the envoys arrival at the coast of Italy. Such an exhibition at Knaresborough would naturally draw a large concourse of people to the place.

Amongst the entries arising out of these festivities occur, a payment of four shillings for catching small birds, money paid to John de Turnour for making dishes, plates, and other vessels, oblations given by those who attended at the purification of the Countess, an oblation of four shillings from the Countess herself offered at the tomb of St. Robert, at Knaresborough. On the 16th of October, the Earl, who had now joined the Countess, appears as the director of the household expenses. The roll that has thus far been consulted is written on eight membranes, each of which takes up about ten days. The expenses vary from forty to sixty shillings daily. It has now been sufficiently examined, and another stating the cost of Humphry de Bohun's establishment, after he had joined the Countess, presents itself for notice.

This roll, entitled, “*Expensæ Humfridi de Boun Comitis de Hereford*,” begins on October 15th, and consists unluckily of only three membranes, but they are curious both as showing the line of road he travelled towards the south, and the melancholy termination of his journey.

On Thursday, the 15th of October, 1304, he slept at Aberford ; on Friday he was at Wantebrigg and the castle of Tickhill. His expenses on this day were 26s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. The charges vary only a few shillings daily. Saturday at Alverton ; Monday at Nottingham ; Tuesday at Leicester ; Wednesday at Sulby, where the *cortège* drank seven pitchers of wine ; Thursday at Northampton, where, no doubt, the Earl was lodged in the royal castle of the town ; Friday at Stratford ; and Saturday at Leighton. On this day there is an entry of 8d. for the wages of a garcon carrying an infant, also a payment made for letters brought to the Countess. The name of John de Weston already mentioned, occurs again, as bringing two horses. The suite

with copious extracts from the roll, in Miss Hartshorne's *Enshrined Hearts*. (Hardwick, 1861.)

travelled on to Watford on Monday; on Tuesday to Fulham, where it stayed Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday: on the latter day the Earl ate of apples and pears, which cost him two shillings. Apples, at this period, were considered rather as dainties, and we find them noticed as such in other coeval accounts.

On this day the melancholy duty was performed of placing the dead body of the Earl's infant son in a leaden sarcophagus,¹ "Ricardo de London plomario pro uno sarcophago de plumbo facienti pro corpore Humfridi filii Comitis Hereford. imponendo, 4s." On the following day the wardrobe of the countess was transferred to the Tower of London, at a cost of 6d. An entire week was now passed by her at this place, and on the Sunday there seems to have been a grand funeral ceremony, corresponding to the rank of so illustrious a family. Four hundred and seventy pounds of wax were made into six score candles for the last exequies; we have the cost of the hearse 3s., from London to Westminster, where the noble scion was buried; we have the expense of the hearse 6s. 8d., and the oblations of those who participated in the mass for Humphrey's soul. The friars preachers in like manner received 5s., and William de Westminster and his companions, 4s., for beating the bell for the soul of the aforesaid Humphrey.

The last duties were performed. Why should the afflicted Earl of Hereford and his countess linger amid the scene of their recent sorrow? His duties called him again to the north. On Monday he set forth and slept at Braynford, where he stayed three days; on Thursday he was at Wendover; again at Stony Stratford on Friday; on Saturday at Rowell; on Sunday at Oakham, where he was secure of receiving good accommodation in its spacious hall; Monday he passed at Grantham; Tuesday at Lincoln; Wednesday at Glanafordbrigge, when the roll ending, nothing further is heard of his movements. He was travelling towards Scotland. The expenses of these twenty-nine days amounted to £52 : 14 : 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹ According to the history of the foundation of Walden Abbey, the children of the countess were born at the following places:—Margaret, the eldest, at Tynemouth; Humphrey at Knaresborough; John at Plessy; Humphrey, the second, at Lochmaber; Edward and William, twins, at Caldecot Castle in Monmouthshire; the birthplace of Encaus is not recorded; and lastly, the daughter of whom she died in childbed, at Quenden.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v, iv, p. 139.

There are a considerable number of letters preserved that passed betwixt Edward II and the Countess his sister, which show the great affection he entertained for her. It may be hoped that this collection will ere long be published. They are partially calendared in the ninth report of the deputy-keeper, and have frequently been referred to by writers on this period. It will be unnecessary to trace the history of the Countess of Holland and Hereford any further, as her life has been written with much research by an industrious authoress.¹ Humphry de Bohun was slain at Boroughbridge, on the 16th of March, 1321, his wife had died a few years previously in childbed, at Quendon, in Essex. In a manuscript of unusual historical interest, sold by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, in 1862, her death was thus recorded in the calendar, under May 5th : “Obiit venerabilis domina domina Elizabeth filia Illustriss. Regis Angliae quondam Comitissa Hereford. Essex. et Holand., anno domini MCCCXVI.”

It may not be irrelevant to say a few words regarding this precious volume. It was a Psalter written in quarto upon vellum, and had undoubtedly belonged to Edward II, and in all likelihood to his father. It was richly illuminated throughout, every page having curious borders of birds, beasts, and grotesque figures, displaying the usual characteristics of missals executed in England by native artists. The calendar has recorded in a later handwriting the obituaries of three of the royal family, Joanna of Acres, Countess of Gloucester, daughter of Edward I, April 23, 1307, “Obiit ma dame Johie Comitis de Gloucestre ;” and on the 30th June, “Le jour de St. Johan le Bapteiste morut Elianor Reine de Engleter la femme du Roy Henri ;” August 31, “Morut Elianor Countesse de Bar file du noble Roy de Engletere.” Besides these members of the royal family, the deaths of Humphry (Sept. 28), William and Sir Robert de Hanstead, and those of Sir Roger and Joanna de Mereworth, are recorded. These entries would, perhaps, alone serve to show that the volume belonged to Edward II, but it is placed out of doubt by the arms emblazoned on the title page, which are those of Prince Edward, differ-

¹ These letters have been referred to by Mr. Blaauw in the Sussex Archaeological Society publication; by Mrs. Green in her *Life of Elizabeth, Daughter of Edward I*; and by myself in the *History of Caernarvon Castle*.

eneed by a label of five points azure, together with those of the Princes of Powis. My own idea of the original ownership of this valuable missal is, that it actually belonged in the first instance to Edward I, and subsequently passed into the possession of his son during his life. The handwriting being of the earlier reign, and the arms evidently illuminated after his son had been created Prince of Wales.

Before closing these remarks on the household expenses of the time of Edward I, it may not be uninteresting to take a glance at another roll, although it has been printed, that gives an insight into the daily habits of a noble lady who lived at the close of the preceding reign. A few extracts will suffice to show the regular form that was, perhaps, universally adopted in keeping domestic accounts.

The expense roll of the Countess of Leicester, wife of the celebrated Simon de Montfort, was printed some years ago in a volume of extraordinary interest, given by Mr. Botfield to the Roxburgh Club. It is to this work of limited circulation that the attention will now be directed.¹

Simon de Montfort, second Earl of Leicester, married Eleanor Countess of Pembroke, sister of Henry III, at Westminster, January 6th, 1238, and in the following year he was solemnly invested with his earldom. The household accounts commence on February 19th, 1265, and end upon August 1st. It was the very eventful year in which the earl fought the battle of Evesham, and perished.

"Rotulus Hospitii Dominae Alianorae Comitissae Leicestriæ.

"49 Hen. III.

"Die Veneris. Pro Comitissa et suis et garnestura. Panis. j. quartarium & ij. busselli de instauro. Vinum unum sextarium. Cervisia ex emptione xs. vjd. ob. Coquina. Alleces iiij^e de instauro castri. Piscis emptus vijs. vijd. Piscis de instauro prius computatus. Mareschalicia. Fenum de instauro ad xlviij. equos. Avena ij. quarteria de instauro.

"Summa xixs. jd. ob."

The Countess of Leicester was absent from her husband when the account opens at Wallingford. From this place she went to Reading on the following day, and on the next to the castle of Odiham, where she remained until the 1st of June. During her residence here, in the month of

¹ *Manners and Household Expenses of England.* 4to. London, 1841.

March, she received a visit from her nephew Prince Edward, and from Henry of Germany. Her usual number of horses was forty-four, but on the occasion of this visit as many as one hundred and seventy-two were fed in her stables. This large number was increased to three hundred and thirty-four, when the Earl of Leicester himself paid her a fortnight's visit. As he left on the 1st of April, there is every reason for supposing that he met the Prince, whom he was so soon afterwards to encounter on the field of battle. On April 14th, the Countess fed eight hundred poor persons, who consumed three quarters of bread and a tun of cider.

On the 1st of June she departed from Odham Castle to that of Porchester, continuing here for eleven days. From hence she travelled to Bramber Castle by way of Chichester, where she dined. On the 13th she was at Willinton. From hence she took the road to Winchelsea through Battle, where she passed her Sunday at the Abbey. On the following day she arrived at Dover, where she was lodged in the castle.¹ During her short stay at Winchelsea, she made a great entertainment for the burgesses, at which two oxen and thirteen sheep were eaten. On this occasion arrangements were made for the extra accommodation of one hundred and ninety-five horses.

From this day we must date the increasing anxiety of the Countess for the issue of the great forthcoming contest betwixt her husband and her brother. On the 4th of August the decisive conflict took place near Evesham, when Simon de Montfort was slain. The unwelcome intelligence reached her without much delay, for on the 19th she made an offering for the repose of his soul. On the 29th of August she discharged Master William the engineer,—a circumstance that leads to the presumption that if she had ever thought of defending Dover Castle against the royal forces, she had now abandoned the intention. Immediately after this, she withdrew from England. She lived just long

¹ Whilst the Countess of Leicester was at Dover she received many of the stores for daily consumption from her manor of Braburn. She was possessed of this manor as widow of William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, who obtained it in dowry with his first wife, Alice, daughter of Baldwin de Betun, Earl of Albemarle. It was afterwards granted by the earl and countess to their eldest son, Henry de Montfort; confirmed March 14, 1265 (Rot. Chart., 49 Hen. III, m. 4). Braburn has already been noticed as subsequently being the possession of Joanna de Valentia, Countess of Pembroke.

enough to receive the restoration of all the lands she held in dower from the Earl of Pembroke, her first husband. St. Louis in 1266, had endeavoured to effect a reconciliation betwixt the Countess and her royal brother. As, however, the French monarch could not prevail when he made this attempt, we may reasonably believe she owed the favour to the inherent love of justice that marked all the actions of Edward I. She only enjoyed them for a year, as she died in voluntary exile in 1274.

Dry and fatiguing as the perusal of the foregoing facts must of necessity have been found, they are, notwithstanding, far less perplexing and tedious than the labour that has been necessary to transcribe and extend them for use. Yet, like a knowledge of all facts, derivable from the apparently uninviting study of records, they are fresh ; whilst their truthfulness is unquestionable. These household accounts incidentally clear up difficult and disputed points of history. They cast new light upon events shrouded in obscurity. They explain in an intelligible way the relative value of money, the cost of the common necessaries of life, the abject state of the population, the coarseness of their fare, and the barbarous luxuries of the rich. It is only through the medium of such minute details that the social economy of the middle ages, and more particularly, both the simple and the sumptuary regulations of aristocratic life, can be clearly understood.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 252.)

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24.

THIS morning the Association started by rail to Totnes, and thence by steamer down the river Dart to Dartmouth, forming a most pleasurable and delightful excursion. Arrived at Dartmouth, the visitors proceeded to the Castle Hotel, where an excellent luncheon had been provided. The party were under the guidance of Mr. Lloyd, who pointed out the objects particularly worthy of attention. It is much to be regretted that the many wainscoted interiors, rich ceilings, and elaborately finished chimney pieces in the town have suffered destruction, and few remain to repay the labours of the archæologist. One ceiling presented a fine representation of the Tree of Jesse, but had been literally cut in two by a fine wooden partition to form separate lodgings.

The church of St. Saviour was visited, and the stone pulpit and screen deservedly admired. The latter is said to be formed of timber obtained from the destruction of the Spanish Armada. It is of a similar character to that at Cullompton church, but much superior in its execution, and forms altogether a very striking and beautiful object. The church has some fine brasses, particularly that of John Hawley, and a more modern one from a design by Mr. Hayward, to the memory of Mr. Tracey, surgeon. The church table is supported by four curious figures of the Evangelists. The door of the south porch is of much interest, being covered with fine ironwork, giving representations of two lions, and some floral devices. Prince assigns to this door a date of 1372, on it is marked 1631; but this must refer to a repair of it. A portion of the body hastened to take a view of the castle, but were speedily summoned to return to Totnes, as the tide then served the purpose. Arrived at Totnes, time permitted only of a rapid survey. The church was first visited, a handsome structure of the perpendicular style. It has a fine screen of the fifteenth century and a rood loft. The fine effect of the whole is marred by galleries which disfigure the church. Totnes Castle offered an illustration of the round castle keep.

The Association then returned to Exeter, where an evening meeting was held, Sir Stafford Northcote, president, in the chair. Colonel Harding read a short paper in reference to the discovery of a coin of King Alfred, on the Steep Holmes in the Bristol Channel.

"In the summer of 1860, Lieut.-Col. Bent, R.E., visited the Steep Holmes with a view to the erection of a battery. While he was surveying the island, some men were engaged in the removal of earth for the improvement of a garden. Not far below the surface, they found three skeletons, laid side by side, without any trace of coffins, dress, or weapons. The bones appeared to be the remains of men who had died in the full vigour of life, and one of them must have been of gigantic stature. The skull was remarkable for its size and fine development, while the trunk and limb bones were so long and massive, that Colonel Bent estimated the height of the living man at fully seven feet. After a careful search, they discovered in the earth, under the tallest skeleton, a piece of money, which proved to be a silver coin of Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred. It was unfortunately broken by the labourers, but was still in such good preservation that both obverse and reverse were very clear, and corresponded exactly with one of the coins figured by Ruding, pl. 30, No. 19, Appx. The following passage from the Saxon chronicle seems to throw some light on the existence of such remains on an island which is little more than a barren rock, and which has never been inhabited and scarcely frequented till very recently.

Extract from the Saxon Chronicle:

"A.D. 918. In this year a great fleet came over hither from the south from the Lidwiccas (Britannia) and with it two Earls, Ohtor and Rhoald, and they went west about till they arrived within the mouth of the Severn, and they spoiled the North Welsh every where by the sea coast where they pleased. And in Irchinfield¹ they took Bishop Cameleac (Llandaff) and led him with them to their ships; and then King Edward ransomed him afterwards with forty pounds. Then, after that the whole army landed, and would have gone once more to plunder about Irchinfield. Then met them the men of Hereford and Gloucester,² and of the nearest towns, and fought against them and put them to flight, and slew the Earl Rhoald and a brother of Ohter³ the other Earl, and many of the army, and drove them into an enclosure, and there beset them about until they delivered hostages to them, that they would depart from King Edward's dominion. And the king had so ordered it that his forces sat down against them on the south side of Severn mouth, from the

¹ Irchinfeld, or Archinfeld, was in Herefordshire.

² Henry of Huntingdon says Caerleon and Hereford.

³ Called by Henry of Huntingdon Grolkil. Roger of Wendover says that "other, the king's brother and Duke Rohald, fell on the part of the Danes."

Welsh coast westward to the mouth of the Avon eastward; so that on that side they durst not any where attempt to land. Then, nevertheless, they stole away by night on some two occasions; once to the east of Watchet, and another time to Porlock. But they were beaten on either occasion, so that few of them got away, except those alone who there swam out to their ships. And they sat down out on the Island of Bradanrelier¹ (the Flat Holmes) until such time as they were quite destitute of food; and many men died of hunger because they could not obtain any food. Then they went to Deomod,² and then out to Ireland."

The Rev. Dr. Thornton then volunteered an explanation of a rubbing taken from the Lustleigh stone. It represented an ancient inscription on a stone of granite, at present forming the sill of the south entrance door in Lustleigh church, in this county; believed to have been originally brought from Cornwall. He did not profess to be a Celtic scholar; but from the place in which the inscription was found, it was Welsh or Celtic; therefore he looked to those languages for the means of deciphering it. The Celtic languages were divisible into two branches; northern Celtic or Celtic proper, as the Scotch, Irish, and Manx. The second was the Cymric, Welsh, Cornish, and the language of North and South Britanny in France. The characters of the inscription were clearly not early Celtic; therefore, they were likely to be Cornish, as spoken by the Britons in later times. The early Celtic characters were always angular; therefore, he looked to the Roman alphabet, the letters of which they rudely resembled. The Celts in this part of the world appeared to have received civilization from the Romans at an early period. Bede says that in 138 some Britons received the christian religion, and as a consequence a certain amount of civilization. Christianity penetrated into Western England, and a century and a half later caused a sort of revival of Druidical civilization, of which remnants could be discovered. To this period he believed a good many of the Druidical remains were owing, when there existed a sort of semi-christian civilization—about 350 or 400. He knew it was rather hazardous to attempt to decipher the inscription; however, as a matter of speculation, he should say this was a Celtic inscription in rude semi-Roman characters. The first letter was *d*; then *a* from the Greek; *t*, *u*, *i*, *d*. This word appeared corrupted by the insertion of a *t*; and so they got the christian name *David* or *Dafydd*, Welsh. Then *o*, from the Irish, and *c*; *oc*, son of. The word in the next line appeared to read *Conhino*; *mh* was equal to *w*, and *nh*, in the Southern Celtic had something the same force, probably a nasal *w*. Thus they had *Cowin*. *O* and *a* were interchangeable as in the Prakrit, the spoken form of the

¹ Florence of Worcester calls the island Reoric. Henry of Huntingdon calls it Stepen,—“manserunt in insula Stepen.” Perhaps Steep Holmes.

² Deomod was in Pembrokeshire.

Sanskrit; thus they got *Cawin* or *Gawin*, which was *Gawain*, a name as well known in Wales as John in England. Thus he read the inscription, "David the son of Gawain."

After a slight discussion on the preceding subjects, Mr. Pettigrew said there were a number of papers which it was utterly impossible could now be read. It was a matter of congratulation that the congress had such abundant materials; and these unread papers would not be overlooked either for the purposes of their *Journal* or *Collectanea*. In that shape and in a revised form the members of the association and others might read every document. There was an interesting paper by Mr. Irving, on "Roman camps, earthworks, and fortifications in Devon," which was the less necessary to bring forward as they had had the gratification of hearing the subject treated of by Mr. Hutchinson. Mr. Irving's paper was a most valuable contribution to Devonshire history, and will appear in the next part of the *Collectanea*. Mr. J. Baigent's "Memoir of Peter Courtenay of Powderham, Bishop of Exeter from 1478 to 1486, and of Winchester from 1486 to the time of his decease in 1492," was a long and important paper¹ and would be duly estimated by those belonging to this county when he mentioned that Mr. Baigent was an able assistant of the late learned Rev. Dr. Oliver. Though these papers had not been read, they would not be lost to Devonshire. It now became his duty to thank those who had aided them in the congress now about to be brought to a conclusion, and first the patrons, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, Earl Fortescue, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and his Grace the Duke of Northumberland. It was almost unnecessary for him to point out the value of the association coming into the county under such patronage. It was at once an encouragement to all to enter into the work of the congress, and a satisfactory proof of the esteem in which archaeological studies were held and the advantage which was believed to be offered to the country by such researches.

Mr. Planché seconded the motion, which was carried.

Mr. Wakeman proposed the thanks of the association to the vice-presidents and committee, who by their excellent arrangements had contributed so much to the success of the congress.

Mr. Levien seconded the motion.

The Chairman, in putting it, said all of them were perfectly well aware that it was to the vice-presidents and the committee that the success of the meeting was really owing. No doubt his excellent friend, Mr. Pettigrew, would acknowledge the compliment, for certainly there was no one who had taken so active a part, and to whom the success which had attended the proceeding was so largely due. At the same time there were many members of the committee who had worked very

¹ This is printed, with illustrations, in vol i. part 2, of the *Collectanea*.

hard, and he felt sure all would join unanimously in thanking them for the assistance which they had given them to spend a very pleasant week.—Carried.

Mr. Pettigrew responded. It would be ridiculous, he said, to affect that he had not done all he could for the Association from the beginning. He could look back at the various congresses and estimate their relative value, and he must say that as they proceeded the importance of their congresses increased in a very extraordinary degree. Indeed so much had that been so, and so large had been the contributions to the history of various places in the country at large, where they had visited, that it had rendered necessary, in order to communicate the information received, the establishment of the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, in addition to the ordinary quarterly journal of the society. Thus they relieved the journal of the more weighty and often more valuable papers, and also enabled them, by means of illustrations, to place the matter before the public in a better shape than the octavo form of the *Journal* would admit of. This was a mark of great success; for none but this society had been enabled to go so far.

Other votes were taken in thanks to the clergy, the mayor, and corporation, the secretaries, the authors of papers, exhibitors of antiquities, the hospitable entertainers during the congress, which were responded to by the mayor, the town clerk, Col. Harding, and others, and the meeting closed by the proposition of Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, Bart., of thanks to Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., the president, which was carried by acclamation.

Sir Stafford Northcote said: I feel myself in some difficulty because I am now called upon to return thanks for the honour you have so kindly done me, after a great many other persons have, with much ingenuity, exhausted every form of gratitude and modesty. I observe that every person whose services you have in any way acknowledged, has disclaimed in very eloquent, and I will not say appropriate, terms—but has disclaimed in very ingenious terms—any merit. All I can do is to gather up in one all these disclaimers, and to say that I feel in this vote you have just passed, you are using me, not according to my merits, but according to your own kind feelings. It has certainly been a very great pleasure to me to take the part I have done in this meeting. I feel sure that the whole has been as profitable, as certainly it has been very pleasant, to those who have taken part in it. An observation was made just now by Mr. Levien, that we have had a name given to us, and have been spoken of as being at least harmless, if not useful. One thing occurred to me which I certainly foresaw. Now that the meeting is concluded, and we are about to separate, the question will be asked, What good had been done by this meeting? I have observed that that is a question which people who do not take interest in any particular pursuit

are very fond of putting to other people who do ; but they do not put the question to themselves in relation to other matters. I believe we might very well retort on a great many people—What good have you done by the pursuit you have chosen through this vacation, or during this summer's trip ? I do not know but that a great number of people would find that question much more difficult to answer than this Association. I always observe that associations such as our own are particularly liable to this sort of question, What good have you done ? A remark was made by Mr. Pettigrew with which I entirely agree. He said he was not able at present to say what were the results of this meeting. If you were able now to tell me the results, I should say it would be a sign that they were very poor, scanty, and beggarly ; for you cannot up to the present moment ; and you cannot definitely know the results, I was going to say, for several years ; but at all events you cannot know them till after the papers presented are printed and digested. Then, and not before, we may expect to see something of the fruit which this meeting may produce, something of the results, and to what the seed which we have now sown may grow. I believe fully that very great results, by degrees, may be reasonably expected from such a meeting as the present. If any expect that the results are to be found in the mere transitory visits paid to objects of interest in different parts of the county, it merely shews that those who entertain such an opinion have not at all arrived at any just notion of what the objects of such an institution as the present are. There is a great work to be done ; but it can only be done slowly and by degrees, and by the cooperation of a great number of persons working with the same object in different parts of the country, with different advantages, and in communication with one another. The work which we have to do has been described by Bacon in his essay on "The Advancement of Learning." We have to collect the fragments, as it were, of a shipwreck ; and out of those fragments and collections of all sorts and kinds, very much defaced and worn by the action of time, we have to construct the vessel which has been destroyed. We have by degrees to put together, carefully and painfully, all the little indications of the lives, manners, habits, and institutions, which by the storm of time have been swept down to us disconnected from the things which would make them clear. We have to endeavour to make sense of them, and thus to arrive, by their means, at a picture of the lives of our ancestors. You know those kinds of histories are common enough which only give a superficial account of bygone ages. What we want is not merely, if I may so describe it, a painting on a flat surface, but a perfect statue and model of those times. If we cannot have a complete statue, let us have a *basso reliefo* ; if we cannot have a perfect model, at least let us look at our ancestors from more than one point of view. Therefore any collections, although in themselves they may seem trifles, are

valuable if we want to know what sort of men our forefathers were ; not only the battles they fought and the acts of parliament they passed, but what sort of men they were in themselves, the habits and economy of their domestic life, and so forth. All these little matters, small as they may individually appear, are all contributions towards attaining a perfect ideal ; and thus we are slowly building up bodily, as it were, the lives of our ancestors, in order that we may attain to a just conception of what sort of men they were. Though the result of any particular meeting like this may not appear worth much, still it is of value if you view it in connexion with others. You should not view the meetings by themselves, but consider their results in connexion with what has been discovered elsewhere in aid of the great work of investigating the lives of our ancestors who centuries ago peopled this country. Thus you cannot tell, until you have the power and the means of judging and comparing and combining its discoveries and those of other times, what are the results of any particular meeting. I am sure that any who look at the matter in a common-sense light must see that such meetings as this are productive of a great deal of good. In the first place, how much good it does to the members of the Association themselves. Here are a number of gentlemen employed during the greater part of the year at their various professions in London and other parts of the country, separated from one another, and their time comparatively taken up in their own studies, professions, and pursuits. All these gentlemen for one week in the year are brought together. Is there no good in that ? There is good, even if no papers were read and no visits of inquiry made. Even in bringing together a number of men who have a subject of study, or some other point of common interest, there is a great deal of good, because they compare ideas and converse with one another on the subject in which they have a common interest. We are told in the inspired writings, "as iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend." I have no doubt every member of the Association feels, when he has spent a week with those interested in the same matter as himself, that he has derived a great deal of good. His body has been refreshed, and he has become a better man : his mind, perhaps, disabused of some prejudices ; new ideas suggested to him ; and he is more capable every way of going to work again, if he has spent such a week as this. Then, again, look at the advantages to a number of people, such as ourselves here, who perhaps look more or less into such matters as this Association devote themselves to, but unfortunately are in the habit of doing so superficially. Here come amongst us a number of persons not in the habit of treating these matters superficially, but systematically ; and they come to put us in the way of looking into these things for ourselves ; and we may establish relations with them, and they with us. By these means our studies may proceed systematically ; not merely

by visiting every quarter or half year, it may be, antiquated churches, or houses, or castles; but these antiquities will be classified,—and the gentlemen who come down here suggest points of inquiry to which it is desirable we should direct our attention. Perhaps they may put an end to some old delusions, and suggest one or two new germs of thought. Becoming connected with the central society in London, we are also put into communication with its members throughout the country; and the work being thus set in motion, it will continue to bear fruit of itself. Therefore it is that we cannot tell the results of this meeting until sufficient time shall elapse in order for the seed now sown to germinate. We who are connected with this city and the county must not allow the interest which has been excited to go to sleep. I shall be altogether deceived, if, as soon as this meeting is over, the interest with which we are now animated, shall be permitted to pass away without securing some practical good for the county. I am quite sure that such a thing cannot keep itself up if it is not kept going by the vitality of such an Association. These gentlemen who have called our attention to the necessity for exertion on our part, must have felt that we should respond to their invitation to work with them, or they would not have come amongst us; and we ought not to have welcomed them as we have done, unless it was our intention so to exert ourselves. I am quite sure many here are better able to appreciate the services of the Association than myself. We have been glad to shew them anything of interest; and though our county may not be so rich as some others, still there are remains of former times; and we have shewn them, I believe, more than they expected to see. They have, at all events, not fathomed the depths of our treasures; and I believe in a few years, if not sooner, a visit to another part of the county will repay them. This I will promise: if they come again, it will be with very great prejudices in their favour among the inhabitants of the county; and I am quite sure they will have a cordial and friendly welcome, for they will come, not as new acquaintances, but as old friends. They may be quite sure their second visit will be an improvement on the first. Therefore, while returning thanks for the honour you have done me, in the first place, by electing me president for the year, and in the second, by thanking me for the humble way in which I have done my duty to the best of my power, I do earnestly hope that, though this is the last business meeting of the present Congress, it will by no means be the last we shall see of the Archæological Association.

The President then said,—The business of the Congress is at an end; but there are two postscripts which we ought not to omit. The first has reference to the expedition to Dartmoor on Monday; the second is a vote of thanks to the ladies, who have been the chief ornament as well as one of the most energetic portions of our travelling expeditions.



Anything to equal the energy and good humour with which they have gone through very fatiguing days, and borne up to the end, and come out as bright at the last as at the first, I have never before seen. They have contributed much to keep the Association in good humour, and to prevent those who, I think, were sometimes disposed to be a little tired, venturing to express such disgraceful sentiments. They were ashamed to do so when they saw the ladies going on as gallantly and gaily at the end of the day, and just as fresh, as when they left Exeter. While the presence of the ladies has added to the beauty of our expeditions, we have received valuable suggestions from many of them; and the great interest they have manifested in our proceedings has contributed to lighten our labours and encourage us in their performance. I cannot, therefore, do better than by concluding our proceedings by giving our best thanks to the ladies, with a hope that they have not suffered from, and do not repent having joined in, our expeditions.

The Association then separated.

VISIT TO DARTMOOR.

Monday was set apart as an extra day for a trip to Dartmoor. In looking about for objects of interest, the local committee very wisely suggested that, if other arrangements would permit, their visitors should make a journey to the moor, and there inspect the ancient remains. As soon as this became known, the Teign Naturalists' Field Club very courteously offered to receive the members and act as guides. The invitation was gladly accepted, and on Monday a party of thirty started from Exeter. The preparations for the journey were most complete, leaving nothing to be desired. As in every other excursion of the Association, punctuality in starting was observed. Although the hour was somewhat early, especially for those who had to come some distance, the party assembled in front of the hotel at eight o'clock, and the coaches proceeded forthwith. The route taken was that by way of Morntonhampstead and Chagford. Those who have visited the moor do not require to be reminded about the importance of favourable weather. The weather, indeed, must ever be one chief element in out-door enjoyments; but to see the moor to advantage,—or rather to see anything at all when you get there—the atmosphere must be peculiarly clear, an event not of so common occurrence as strangers may imagine. When there are no rain-clouds, it often happens that the land is covered with the mist raised by the sun's heat; so that to obtain a good view, the visitor must hit the happy medium, which the Association happily accomplished. The sky was clear, and the sun shone brightly; but its rays were tempered by a cooling breeze, so that when they got on the moor the magnificence of the sight on it and from it was in a great measure realized. Far away in the horizon could be discerned the fringe of Exmoor, while in the

intervening country all the spots of interest were distinctly traceable. With a powerful glass you might almost have counted the houses in Chagford and Moretonhampstead, so strongly were those towns brought out into relief; while in the background stood the "Blackingstone" rock.

Arriving at the hill which led upon the moor, they were met by Lord Clifford; Mr. Divett, President; Mr. Ormerod, the Secretary of the Naturalists' Club; with other members,—to whose guidance they committed themselves. A short distance up the hill Mr. Ormerod pointed out the remains of an old chapel, now forming part of a farmhouse; but a much greater curiosity was soon encountered. We refer to "Featherbed-lane," the name given to a boulder-bestrewed gorge by which access is had to the moor. At some remote period it may have been a bridle-path; but the torrents that sweep down the side of the moor in winter have long since appropriated this as their peculiar channel. The earth has been washed away, leaving visible nothing but huge blocks of granite; some forming part of the rock, and others carried down from the moor. No obstacle, however, could impede the archaeologists, and the whole party ascended this "Featherbed-lane" with much alacrity.

Once on the moor, all felt themselves amply repaid for their exertions in getting there. Through the beautiful, clear atmosphere the eye could range with scarcely any limit. Every field and wood and building was as distinctly traced, and as easily recognized, as if the beholder had been looking upon a vast map laid out before him. Under these favourable conditions the party followed Mr. Ormerod from a point near the Kistor Rock, viewing the singular remains of a remote era, and enjoying the invigorating breezes that seemed to bring with them the very essence of health. After describing the various tors,—Kistor, Haytor, Rippontor, and others,—Mr. Ormerod led the way to the hut-circles in which the ancient occupants of the moor are supposed to have dwelt. The most interesting of these was Roundy Pound, where there are two of these circles of granite stones, one within the other. Leaving these, he proceeded to the Longstone, a huge block of granite which begins the sacred avenue (a double line of granite stones) leading to Scorrill circle, the remains of a Druidical temple. Thence the party went to inspect a clam bridge on the Teign. It is composed of large slabs of granite resting on pillars of the same material, all put together in a rough manner; from its solidity no doubt well fitted to stem the swollen stream in winter.

Having thus viewed all the objects of interest, antiquarian or otherwise, on this part of the moor, the party wended their way to Fernworthy, the spot fixed for luncheon, where they arrived shortly after four o'clock. After lunch Mr. Pettigrew proposed the Teign Club, specially naming Mr. Ormerod, who returned thanks. Immediately afterwards that gentleman read some interesting notes on the spots previously visited.

Soon after six o'clock the party left the moor, the Exeter division returning to Chagford by a route different to that by which they had come. At Moreton there was a short stoppage to obtain a relay of horses and repair a drag-chain ; and in this interval Mr. Collyns, surgeon, very kindly entertained Mr. Pettigrew and several other gentlemen at tea. The return to Exeter was most satisfactorily accomplished. The coaches reached the New London Inn about eleven o'clock.

Thus terminated one of the most successful and one of the most agreeable congresses yet held by the Association.

During the Congress a temporary museum was formed at the Royal Public Rooms, and most kindly and effectively promoted by Colonel Harding and Mr. Gendall. Among other contributions, it may not be uninteresting to specify the following :—Carvings from the old King John Tavern in South-street (which was taken down in 1834), sent by R. S. Cornish, Esq.¹ Of these the most striking are five posts which originally formed the supports of the two porches attached to the hostelry. They all bear on the top grotesquely carved figures, some coloured and others plain. On the first is a male figure holding with both hands a thigh-bone in a menacing attitude, the feet and legs enveloped in jack-boots, the knees and thighs bare. On its head are the arms of France and England, while the feet rest on a man's shoulders. The second figure represents a king's fool bearing in his right hand a doll, supporting on his head a gateway with portcullis, and treading on an ass. A female figure surmounts the third, attired in a boddice, and holding a child by its hair, evidently about to beat it. She stands on another child, and both children have projecting tongues, denoting stupidity. The fourth and fifth are minstrels, one blowing a bagpipe, the other playing on a clarionet. Beneath the first are two boys wrestling, and under the second a head with split tongue. There are carved pillars from the interior of the same house, but not in such good preservation. Mr. Gendall exhibited some drawings of the interior, shewing the position of these latter. Altogether, the remains from King John's Tavern formed an attractive feature. Mr. Gendall also contributed a series of carved bosses taken from the churches at Ide, St. Thomas, and Heavitree; and six others from the episcopal palace in Exeter, one having on it the sculptured head of the founder of the cathedral. From the old fish-market, which formerly stood in Queen-street, there was one of a series of Roman figures which once adorned its façade ; it is in tolerably good preservation : also contributed by Mr. Gendall. Mr. John Gidley exhibited a fine head of a Crusader, carved in stone, found in Bedford-circus.

The pictorial representations of antiquities in and about Exeter were numerous. Sir Stafford Northcote contributed a triptych painted by

¹ These are figured and described in the *Gent. Mag.* for May 1838.

Mr. Gendall, shewing in one compartment the old tavern and gateway leading from Broadgate to the Cathedral Close; in the second, the west front of the cathedral; and in the third, the interior of the cathedral. Mr. J. Walrond sent an admirable picture of the great hall at Bradfield House, drawn by himself.¹ Mr. E. Ashworth exhibited drawings of the curious clock in Exeter Cathedral, Greenway's Chapel in Tiverton Church, and the west elevation of Ottery Church. Mr. Gendall sent also a large number of drawings, including the following:—an Elizabethan gate leading to his own house in the Cathedral-yard; Westgate-street, with the church of St. Mary Steps, shewing a portion of the city wall; the Quay Gate, taken down some years since; St. Nicholas Priory in the Mint; the Old Bridge in Bridge-street; St. Edmund-street, with St. Edmund's Church, before the alterations; timber in High-street, taken down on the site where Messrs. Garton and Jarvis now carry on business (the old house was very picturesque, and an ironmongery business had been conducted in it for many years); an Elizabethan doorway in St. Sidwell's; a double stone staircase in Bear-street, removed a few years since; and the kitchen of St. Nicholas Priory. Colonel Harding exhibited drawings of the old Bluecoat School (behind the Grammar School) and of St. Winifred's Chapel. Mr. E. Jeffery drawings of the Old Bridge in Bridge-street, and the South Gate, with old Trinity Church; also several interesting Dartmoor sketches, including the Circle on Scorrhill Down, the Via Sacra near Castor Rock, Chagford, the Triple Circle with the prostrate pillar and the Via Sacra, and Chagford. Mr. John Gidley contributed a picture of the cathedral, by Nash, shewing the old seating in the nave, with the then existing tabernacle-work on the organ; and another of the old Exe Bridge with its many arches, on some of which stood dwellinghouses. Mr. G. Whitaker sent a moor scene, “Grimsound Circle.” On the screens were views of Clapper Bridges, Teignhead Bridge, Fernworthy, and Old Dartmoor Bridge. Mr. P. O. Hutchinson, for the illustration of the paper read by him,² exhibited the following tracings: Belbury Castle near Ottery St. Mary, Camp in Ugbrook Park, Hembury Fort, Buckerell Knap, Milber Down Camp, Denbury Down Camp, Pixie Garden, Uffculme Down, Woodbury Castle, Blackbury Castle earthworks on the Lyme road near Blackbury Castle, Bury Camp near Branscombe, Sidbury Castle, High Peak Hill Camp near Sidmouth, Tumulus or Stone Burrow Plot, Lovehayne Farm, and Dane's Castle near Exeter.

Of ancient relics, coins, seals, antiques, etc., there were: two moulds of micaceous schist, of a light green colour, for celts or spear-heads (exhibited by Mr. Buckingham),³ found at Chudleigh Knighton, about

¹ For description, see pp. 248-252 *ante.*

² See pp. 53-66 *ante.*

³ These have been described by Mr. Tucker, and figured in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. ix, p. 185.

ten feet under the surface, lying in a bed of clay with many other stones, the upper surface being stone and gravel. When found, the halves were so close together that it was not discovered that the stones were divided until they were washed (found by J. R. Davy, Esq.); two celts found thirty years since, in Hennock, by Wm. Harris, Esq., near a Roman encampment; a cannon ball (by the Rev. H. Newport) found embedded in the city wall, near the Grammar School; fifteen ornamental tiles, Roman and mediæval, by Mr. Godbeer. Colonel Harding exhibited a quantity of Roman pottery; a fine old lock and key from a house at Colyton; a number of coins, including some Egyptian and Grecian specimens, found in Exeter; several silver coins minted in Exeter, the first being one of the reign of William the Conqueror; also some merchants' wool-marks; a tortoise coin,—date 10 A.C.; coal money; two Assyrian coins and some antiques found near Babylon by General Chesney; impressions of private seals of Oliver Cromwell; of the great seal of the Duke of Gloucester as Lord High Admiral; of the seal of Anna, Countess of Devon (Lady Talbot), the matrix of which was found in Catherine-street, Exeter, and restored to the Earl of Devon; the seal of the Exeter Corporation of the Poor, dated 1698, and containing figures of a woman spinning with sheep close at hand, also a pedestal and candle,—the latter having reference to Proverbs xxxi, 18; and the first Admiralty seal, dated 1533. Mr. Pettigrew sent some bronze figures (Penates) dug up in Exeter;¹ while from Mr. Milne were other bronze figures, representing Romulus and Remus, found in an old house in Mary Arches-street. Mr. Ellis sent several seals; and there were exhibited by the Misses Loscombe a seal of Dagon, the fish-god of Assyria, from the collection of the late Mr. C. W. Loscombe, with carvings and other articles.

In addition to the foregoing, the Rev. Æneas B. Hutchison, B.D., of Devonport, suspended various interesting brasses around the room. They were chiefly from the city of Bruges in Belgium. From St. Saviour's (now the cathedral), in the Chapel of St. Crispin, and the Baptistry, nine brasses, dating from 1339 to 1555, comprising very fine and interesting examples of the Flemish school; amongst them the only one known example of an ecclesiastical notary. From St. James' Church, in the chapels of St. Anne and the Holy Cross, a series of thirteen brasses, some of them very fine; and two palimpsests, dating from 1350 to 1615. From the Hospice of St. Joos, Bruges, a magnificent brass of the founder, Joseph Lambrech, A.D. 1588, represented as a priest bearing a chalice, with the evangelistic symbols at the corners of the slab, and armorial bearings at the sides. From the cathedral of Amiens, a superb mural brass representing a bishop (founder of certain masses in that church) kneeling before the Blessed Virgin and child, with St. John the

¹ Mr. Pettigrew's paper and illustration of the Penates will appear in the *Collect. Archael.*, part i, vol. ii.

Evangelist standing behind. From the church of St. Gertrude, Nivelles, a very interesting mural brass of an abbess of that church, who held the title of Lady Princess of Nivelles, and possessing considerable authority. She is represented as kneeling before the Blessed Virgin and child, and behind her is seen St. Margaret issuing from the back of a dragon. This brass is strikingly similar in design to that exhibited from Amiens, and both are of the fifteenth century.

Proceedings of the Association.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

APRIL 9.

GEORGE VERE IRVING, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE auditors delivered in the following report, accompanied by the balance sheet of the treasurer's accounts for the past year :

"We, the auditors appointed to examine the accounts of the treasurer of the British Archæological Association for the year 1861, have the satisfaction of reporting that, during the past year, the sum of £702:3:2, including a previous balance of £235:1:8, has been received; and the sum of £530:2:6 paid by the treasurer, for which we have examined the vouchers, and find them correct. A balance of £172:0:8 is therefore due to the Association. It is necessary to remark that the balance sheet now presented to the Annual General Meeting includes the entire payment on account of Part I of the *Collectanea Archæologica*, donations and payments in aid of which were recorded in the preceding audit. It is also further worthy of notice that receipts upon this publication, and also on the *Journal*, are due from the publishers of the Association, whose account has not yet been delivered in to the treasurer. To embrace this amount in future audits, we would suggest that an advantage would arise from holding the General Meeting in the month of May instead of April, by which time the amount received by the publishers would always be known.

"There have been elected into the Association during 1861, forty-eight associates, twenty-three have withdrawn, and ten are lost to the society by death. It has also been proposed to us by the Council to remove from the list of members three associates¹ whose subscriptions are in arrear for four years: a measure in which we fully concur, as necessary to present the real state of the society.

"The condition of the Association is highly satisfactory. It has no

¹ Two having discharged their arrears subsequent to this report, are still retained on the list.

debt, and has been enabled during the past year to publish, in addition to the usual quarterly *Journal*, which has unequivocally maintained its high character, a valuable work, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, consisting of communications laid before the Association of too great length for insertion in the *Journal*, or requiring more extensive illustration than that publication could possibly give. The second part of this work is now in course of delivery, and completes the first volume. The value of the papers, and the excellence of the illustrative plates, will doubtless render this publication permanent, and reflect upon the Association great credit for the zeal its members have evinced in the pursuit of archæology, carrying out in a more efficient manner than any other body of a similar nature the objects for which it was established.

"We would embrace this opportunity to press upon the associates in general the necessity of giving their support to this work, which is placed in their hands at a price barely sufficient to cover its real cost. All who feel an interest in maintaining the prosperous condition of the Association, will avail themselves of the opportunity now afforded them to disseminate more extensively the results of its researches.

"It would be unjust to submit this statement to the General Meeting without acknowledging that the present most satisfactory position of the Association is eminently due to the treasurer, whose exertions have been directed not only towards regulating the financial affairs of the society, but, and in a no less zealous manner, applied to sustain its reputation by the able manner in which he has given his talents to the editing of its several publications.

"CECIL BRENT.
"JAMES SULLIVAN.

"April 7, 1862."

Associates elected 1861 :

- M. Adderley, Esq., Royal Horse Guards.
- Rev. J. A. Addison, M.A., Netley Villas, Southampton.
- Alwin Shutt Bell, Esq., Scarborough.
- Thomas Blashill, Esq., Old Jewry Chambers.
- Lord Boston, 4, Belgrave-square.
- Edgar P. Brock, Esq., 37, Bedford-place.
- William Cann, Esq., Exeter.
- Capt. Walter Park Carew, Royal Horse Guards.
- James Jell Chalk, Esq., 11, Whitehall-place.
- Edward Clarke, Esq., Chard.
- George Nelson Collyns, Esq., Moreton Hampstead.
- Frederick Cornwell, Esq., Westborough House, Scarborough.
- Rev. S. F. Cresswell, M.A., Durham.
- Capt. Dumergue, Cleveland Walk, Bath.
- James Ellis, Esq., Hanwell.
- George Faith, Esq., Upper Tulse Hill, Brixton.
- Edmund Syer Fulcher, Esq., 8, Vincent-street, Ovington-square.
- Joseph George, Esq., Goldsmiths' Hall.

J. Vines Gibbs, Esq., 119, Pall Mall.
 Mrs. Gibbs, Stratford House, West Hill.
 George Goldsmith, Esq., Belgrave-road.
 Charles Hill, Esq., Upper Mall, Hammersmith.
 John Hardy, Esq., M.P., 7, Carlton House-terrace.
 Matthew Harpley, Esq., Royal Horse Guards.
 William Harrison, Esq., F.S.A., Galligreaves House, Blackburn.
 J. H. Holdsworth, Esq., Doombrae, Ayr, N.B.
 Rev. John Bickley Hughes, M.A., Grammar School, Tiverton.
 Peter Orlando Hutchinson, Esq., Sidmouth.
 Frederick A. Inderwick, Esq., 17, Besborough-st., Belgrave-road.
 Robert Jennings, Esq., Lawn Villa, Southampton.
 Rev. S. F. Maynard, B.A., Faulkland, near Frome.
 Rev. G. K. Morrell, D.C.L., Mountford Vicarage, Wallingford.
 James Murton, Esq., Silverdale near Lancaster.
 Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Bart., M.P., M.A., C.B., Pynes, Devon.
 John Northmore, Esq., Cleve House, Exeter.
 Rev. J. Louis Petit, M.A., F.S.A., New-square, Lincoln's Inn.
 William Frederick Pettigrew, Esq., 7, Chester-street.
 Richard N. Philipps, Esq., F.S.A., Hall Staircase, Temple.
 Charles William Pridham, M.D., Paignton, Devon.
 William R. Scott, Phil. Doct., St. Leonard's, Exeter.
 Alfred George Sharpe, Esq., 3, Westbourne Park Villas, Paddington.
 Mrs. Sotheby, Ivy House, Kingston.
 George Robert Stephenson, Esq., Great George-street, Westminster.
 F. H. Thorne, Esq., Dacre Park, Lee, Kent.
 Charles Henry Turner, Esq., Dawlish, Devon.
 Miss Vallance, Osborne House, Brighton.
 George R. Pratt Walker, M.D., Bow-lane.
 Charles White, Esq., 30, Gloucester Gardens.

Resignations, 1861 :

W. H. Ainsworth, Esq.	Rev. H. Mackarness
Miss Barnes	W. Meyrick, Esq., F.S.A.
H. D. Cole, Esq.	M. O'Connor, Esq.
Edward Dixon, Esq.	Thos. Pease, Esq.
James Elliott, Esq.	Rev. R. H. Poole
J. H. Fowler, Esq.	Earl of Portarlington
E. M. Gibbs, Esq.	F. W. L. Ross, Esq.
G. M. Gray, Esq.	Robt. Thorburn, Esq.
Swynfen Jervis, Esq.	Samuel Unwin, Esq.
Henry Kerl, Esq.	Henry Walker, Esq.
T. J. Leeson, Esq.	Thos. Wills, Esq.
Luke Lousley, Esq.	

Deaths, 1861 :

Thomas Bateman, Esq.	Edward S. Lee, Esq.
Lord Braybrooke, F.S.A.	William Newton, Esq.
William George Carter, Esq., F.S.A.	Samuel Leigh Sotheby, Esq., F.S.A.
James Clarke, Esq.	Granville E. Harcourt Vernon, Esq.
Right Hon. Charles Tennyson D'Eyncourt, F.R.S., F.S.A.	Rev. F. H. Wilkinson, M.A.

Upon the recommendation of the Council the following associate was directed to be erased from the list,—Rev. Prebendary Fane, M.A., Warminster, four years subscription being due.

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.
Balance due to the Association at the audit of	
1860
Annual and life subscriptions
Donations for general purposes:	
William Miles, Esq.	£5 0 0
Mr. Jobbins	. . 1 1 0
Mr. Gendall	. . 1 0 0
	7 1 0
Donations for <i>Collectanea Archaeologica</i> :	
J. Bramley Moore, Esq., M.P.	£3 0 0
W. Calder Marshall, Esq., R.A.	. 2 2 0
William Yewd, Esq.	. 2 2 0
Capt. Oakes	. 2 2 0
J. Heywood, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.	. 2 0 0
	11 6 0
Sale of publications
Net balance of Exeter Congress
	£702 3 2

RECEIPTS.
1861.

Balance brought forward £172 0 8.

CECIL BRENT.
JAMES SULLIVAN.

CECIL BRENT.
JAMES SWILLIYAN.

7th April, 1862.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the auditors for their report. It was then resolved that the Annual General Meeting be in future held on the second Wednesday in May instead of April as heretofore.

Thanks were voted to the president, vice-presidents, other officers, and council, the contributors of papers and antiquities for exhibition during the year.

A special vote of thanks was given by acclamation to the treasurer for his great attention to the affairs of the Association, and for his able editorship of the *Journal* and *Collectanea Archaeologica* of the Association.

A ballot was taken for officers and council for 1862-3, and the following elected :

PRESIDENT.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SIR CHAS. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.	JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES COFLAND, M.D., F.R.S.	GEORGE VERE IRVING.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.	SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Rouge Croix*.

H. SYER CUMING.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

T. WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Falæographer.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draftsman.

HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.

COUNCIL.

GEORGE ADE	W.M. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.
JOHN ALGER	GEORGE MAW, F.S.A.
WM. HARLEY BAYLEY, F.S.A.	RD. N. PHILLIPS, F.S.A.
WM. BEATTIE, M.D.	J. W. PREVITÉ
WM. H. BLACK, F.S.A.	REV. JAS. RIDGWAY, M.A., F.S.A.
HENRY G. BOHN	EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A.
GORDON M. HILLS	SAMUEL R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.	ROBERT TEMPLE.

AUDITORS.

G. G. ADAMS.

GEO. PATRICK.

The treasurer then read the notices of associates deceased during the past year; and thanks having been given to him for the same, and to George Vere Irving, Esq., V.P., for his attention to the business of the day, the members adjourned to St. James' Hall to dine together, and celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the Association.

Obituary for 1861.

THE obituary for the past year presses heavily and painfully on the Association, inasmuch as it has taken from us some active members and zealous friends, and at a period of life in which the decease of some of them could not have been anticipated. The earliest death in the year was that of

GRANVILLE E. HARCOURT VERNON, on the 1st of February, at the age of forty-four, from an attack of rheumatic fever, when on a visit to our associate, the Marquis of Aylesbury, at Tottenham Park. Mr. Vernon was a grandson of the late Archbishop of York. His father is the eldest son of his Grace, and held the appointment of Chancellor of the Diocese of York. Our late associate was born November 23, 1816; educated at Westminster School, whence, by merit, he was sent student to Christ Church, Oxford, at the University of which he distinguished himself by taking a second class classics in 1839, and graduated as M.A. in 1840. Designed for public life, he became successively private secretary to the Earl of St. Germans, Chief Secretary for Ireland; and to the Duke of Newcastle, when Earl Lincoln, filling the same office. He continued in the same capacity when his Grace was Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests. It was thus that Mr. Harcourt Vernon joined our Association, when the Duke of Newcastle presided over us at Newark, during the Nottinghamshire Congress, in 1852.

Mr. Vernon entered Parliament, as member for Newark, in that year; and in 1854 he married Lady Selina Catherine Meade, only daughter of the Earl of Clanwilliam. He took interest in our proceedings, served on our council, and had reduced for us an ancient map of Notts, still in our portfolio; but which will probably appear, at some future time, in our *Collectanea*, as an object of sufficient importance for publication.

RICHARD CORNWALLIS-NEVILLE, LORD BRAYBROOKE, hereditary visitor of Magdalen College, Cambridge; High Steward of Wokingham, Berks; and Vice-Lieutenant of the county of Essex, was well known to antiquaries. He was the fourth Baron Braybrooke, by Richard, third baron, and Jane, daughter of Charles second Marquis of Cornwallis; and

was born on March 17, 1820. In 1852 he married Lady Charlotte Sarah Graham Toler, sixth daughter of the second Earl of Norbury; by whom he has left two daughters. He died on the 19th of February, at the age of forty years. His brother has succeeded to the barony.

Our associate received his education at Eton, and at an early period of life manifested a taste for literary and antiquarian pursuits, in which he was eminently fostered by his father, well known by his *History of Audley End*, and more especially as the editor of the *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*. Our late member entered the army in 1837, having obtained a commission in the Grenadier Guards, and served in Canada in 1838. Ill health, which indeed, to a certain degree, continued with him to the last, compelled him to retire from the army in 1841; from which time he may be said to have entirely devoted himself to the study of history and antiquities. Following in the footsteps of the late much lamented John Gage Rokewode, who, in his affectionate dedication to his mother of one of his publications, the Hon. Mr. Neville styles his "godfather in archaeology," he soon became one of the most eminent of the practical archaeologists of his day. In 1847 Mr. Neville entered our Association, and in the earlier volumes of our *Journal* will be found several contributions from his pen. I would direct your attention to his first exhibition of some processional weapons of the time of Henry VIII, which he had purchased at a sale of the effects at Debden Hall, Essex. A halbert from among them has been figured by us;¹ and it was suggested by Mr. Planché that it might have been used on occasion of the celebrated friendly interview between Henry and Francis of France on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold."

One of the earliest, but not least important, of Mr. Neville's investigations, has been fully reported in our *Journal*,² and is the examination of a portion of a field belonging to the Roman station at Icceanum, at Chesterford, Essex. Some of the objects discovered in this research have been engraved by us, and subsequently appeared in a more complete form (privately printed) under the title of *Antiqua Explorata*, embracing discoveries made during the winters of 1845 and 1846 and the spring of 1847, in the vicinity of Audley End. This little work appeared in 1847, was printed at Saffron Walden, and illustrated by some faithful representations drawn by Mr. J. Youngman, a local artist constantly engaged by Mr. Neville. The work was reviewed in our *Journal* by Mr. C. Roach Smith; and by the kindness of the author, his notice was enriched by the representations of the chief of the objects discovered. In 1847 Mr. Neville excavated for the foundations of a small Roman building in a field near Chesterford. The flooring and lower parts of the walls of a square room, including in the centre a small square apartment, were displayed, and found to be paved with red tesserae surround-

¹ *Journal*, iii, 128.
1862

² *Ib.*, pp. 208-13.
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ing a geometrical design in smaller tesserae of various colours. The particulars are described in our *Journal*.¹ In the same year Mr. Neville made a discovery at Hayden, eight miles from Audley End. Tradition had reported the existence of a cave, and Mr. Neville resolved to dig into the mound. He found the soil deep and black; and at the depth of four feet the excavators struck upon three walls built with bricks of solid clunch chalk, so as to present a longitudinal *cul de sac*. The chamber was ten feet nine in length, and five in breadth. In the centre was an altar in solid clunch, attached to the end wall, and round the sides was a passage just of sufficient size to permit a person to squeeze himself round between the wall and the three sides. A good bronze bracelet, two or three iron instruments, a coin of Constantius II in brass, and bullocks' bones in plenty, were found. There was also pottery of different sorts in fragments, and portions of three colanders.

In Borough Ditch, Chesterford, Mr. Neville was also successful in his excavations; and in a field near this place he obtained a skeleton, by which was placed a small black cinerary urn of unusually fine workmanship, containing a second brass coin of Nerva Trajan, a fine Sabina Augusta Hadrianis, and others; also a bronze ladle perforated, suggested to have been for the purpose of sprinkling liquid frankincense. The ladle, when found, contained thirty large brass coins. Of these, in all, Mr. Neville obtained a hundred and ninety-four, being of Claudius, Vespasian, Domitia, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Aurelius, Sabina, the Faustinas, and Commodus. A list of them was drawn up and inserted in our *Journal*.² In July 1848 Mr. Neville communicated to the Association a discovery of Roman pottery, in fine preservation, by some labourers digging close to the railway at Chesterford. A Samian cup and patera, with many fragments, were obtained. Subsequently eight funereal urns were found at Chesterford.

The success attending Mr. Neville's researches enabled him, in 1848, to put forth another small volume (also privately printed) which he entitled *Sepulchra Exposita*, in which he gave an account of the opening of some barrows, in addition to his remarks on miscellaneous antiquities found in the neighbourhood of Audley End. This work contains figures of many of the objects I have alluded to, accompanied with short and pertinent observations. A more pretentious publication was put forth in 1852, under the title of *Saxon Obsequies*, illustrated by ornaments and weapons discovered in a cemetery near Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, during the autumn of 1851. This is illustrated by forty plates, constituting a most interesting collection of Saxon reliques, with appropriate descriptions. Not only to our body, of whose aid, and of the services more especially of some of our members, Mr. Neville availed himself, but also to other antiquarian and archaeological societies, he

¹ iii, 328.

² iv, 59.

made various communications. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and was, soon after his election, named a vice-president. To their "Transactions" in the *Archæologia*, in 1847, he gave a brief sketch of the excavations made by him at Borough Field;¹ also of those undertaken at Hadstock, where the remains of a villa were discovered; and to this memoir Mr. C. R. Smith appended an account of the British coins found at Chesterford in 1845. A second paper in the *Archæologia*² gives the examination of a group of barrows, five in number, in Cambridgeshire, in what is known as the "Five Hill Field." He examined nine tumuli, eight of which were decidedly funeral; and one in the neighbourhood also, which partook of the same character. In these he found several human skeletons, the skull of a badger, horns of the roebuck, bones of a horse, bronze buckle, light red pottery, cinerary vases, incense burner in pottery, iron pike-head, snails' shells, and coins of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, and Victorinus.

To the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute he also latterly made several communications, and he was a vice-president of their body. Of the Archæological Society of Essex, he became, upon the decease of John Disney, Esq., the president; and he contributed notes on Roman Essex to their "Transactions." His collections at Audley End are very valuable to the archæologist. There are numerous examples of Roman and Saxon antiquities, and they are well arranged. The numismatic cabinet is of importance, and the collection of rings extensive and interesting. In the acquisition of these, the late lord exhibited much taste and feeling; and one of the productions of his pen, not the least deserving of notice, is a discourse he delivered at a meeting of the Literary Society of Saffron Walden, called the *Romance of the Ring; or the History and Antiquity of Finger Rings*, which he privately printed, and in which he describes no less than two hundred and sixty-three examples. It is gratifying to be enabled to state that, by his will, his collections are directed to be preserved at Audley End, to illustrate ancient arts and manners. They will, therefore, constitute a lasting monument of the zeal and intelligence of the antiquary who, under the pressure of many infirmities, occupied himself in the investigation of national antiquities and the archæological illustration of his own birthplace.

The Rev. FRANCIS H. WILKINSON, M.A., incumbent of West Ashton, Wilts, was the younger son of the late Henry Wilkinson, Esq., of White Webbs Park, Enfield, Middlesex, and of Clapham Common, Surrey. He joined our Association in 1858, but never contributed to our *Journal*. He died at the early age of forty, on the 14th of May.

SAMUEL LEIGH SOTHEBY was well known to us all as one actively engaged in pursuits connected with literature and the fine arts. The

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxii, 350-54.

² Ib., pp. 357-361.

eminence of the firm with which he was connected, for the dispersion by sale of works of art and some of the most distinguished libraries of the age, gave to him abundant opportunities of acquiring information ; and, inheriting a taste from his father, in regard to the earlier objects of typographical literature, he was enabled to carry out his parent's desire, and ultimately to publish one of the most valuable productions of the day, to those who are interested in the history of the art of printing. One of Mr. Sotheby's earliest productions consisted of a folio volume, published in 1840, having for its title, "Unpublished Documents, Marginal Notes, and Memoranda, in the Autograph of Philip Melanchthon and of Martin Luther. With numerous Fac-similes, accompanied with Observations upon the Varieties of Style in the Handwriting of these illustrious Reformers." This was inscribed to his constant friend, the late Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield. Mr. Sotheby was excited to this publication by a remarkable library consigned for sale in this country, collected by Dr. Kloss of Frankfort, a well known bibliographer, in whose library was found a volume containing a manuscript note with the signature of Melanchthon attached :

" Nulla dies abeat quin linea ducta supersit.

" PH. MELANCHTHON."

The character of the writing led Mr. Sotheby to the examination of other volumes in the collection, and his labours were amply repaid by the discovery of a large quantity of notes made by the great reformer from an early period of his life. Doubts in the minds of several justly entitled to be esteemed authorities in such a matter, induced Mr. Sotheby himself to become the purchaser of the greater number of the volumes with manuscript notes, rather than have attributed to him a desire improperly to enhance the value of a property entrusted to him for sale. He afterwards devoted his leisure to the most critical examination of these volumes, and the results obtained are given in the work I have mentioned. It offers an example of great assiduity and discernment on the part of Mr. Sotheby, and constitutes a valuable contribution towards the illustration of the character of one whose opinions have exercised so great an influence upon the Christian world, and so materially tended to establish the Protestant Reformation. In thirty-four plates containing innumerable specimens of Melanchthon's writing and artistic illustrations, copies of initials, and various facetae in Greek, Latin, German, in language and in numerals, it is, perhaps, worthy of remark that Melanchthon signed his name in no less than sixty different ways in his correspondence previous to 1545, as given in the volumes of the *Corpus Reformatorum*, edited by Professor Bretschneider. Mr. Sotheby gives a plate in which they are arranged according to the date of the several documents from which they have been taken. Mr. Sotheby has also enriched his volume with fac-similes of Melanchthon's writing, from

letters deposited in the British Museum, Royal Library of Munich, and private collections, forming altogether a body of evidence in regard to the reformer's writing, sufficient to dispel any uncertainty that may arise in future times as to the genuine character of his autograph.

An important work, the labours of many years, appeared in 1858 (in 3 vols. imperial 4to.), the title of which is, "Principia Typographica. The Block-Books; or Xylographic Delications of Scripture History, issued in Holland, Flanders, and Germany, during the Fifteenth Century, exemplified and considered in Connexion with the Origin of Printing. To which is added an Attempt to elucidate the Character of the Paper-Marks of the Period : a Work contemplated by the late Samuel Sotheby, and carried out by his Son, Samuel Leigh Sotheby." The whole impression of this work (two hundred and fifteen copies) was sold off at once, no copy being permitted to be disposed of under the price of nine guineas. Mr. Sotheby's object in this work was, not gain, but fame, and the performance of a filial duty. He was contented to save himself from serious loss, and at the same time to be enabled to present copies to various learned bodies. It is a most interesting work, exhibiting specimens of the most celebrated printers of antiquity, together with the several water-marks of the paper employed by them. Mr. Sotheby, sen., contemplated this volume as far back as 1814, and its preparation was proceeded in by him until 1842. I feel much interested in the subject, having examined and collated many of the original works with both father and son, whilst engaged in the formation of the late Duke of Sussex's library. This enables me also to accord my testimony as to the exactitude of the Messrs. Sotheby's labours. Specimens of the *Principia Typographica* were printed and privately distributed in 1857, consisting of the surplus copies of the plates, and forming a volume for useful reference ; with remarks on the history of printing, block-books, water-marks, etc.

The last production of importance by our deceased associate, was one of which, unfortunately, he did not live long enough to witness its publication and dispersion. It is of a description such as might be expected to result from his enthusiastic nature, and the direction it had received from his previous investigation in regard to the handwriting of Melanchthon. It is entitled *Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*, a volume of three hundred pages, imperial 4to., splendidly printed, and illustrated not only with fac-similes of the great poet's writing, but also with photographic engravings of his portrait taken at different periods of his life.

As in the case of Philip Melanchthon, so in that of John Milton, accident led Mr. Sotheby to the pursuit of his inquiry. In 1858 his attention was called to what was esteemed a genuine signature of Milton appended to a deed in the collection of the late Mr. Singer, and now in the possession of our respected and highly gifted associate, Mr. R. Monckton

Milnes, M.P. Mr. Sotheby has, however, shewn that at the date of this instrument, the poet was blind; and that the writing corresponds with that of part of the well known manuscript, *De Doctrinā Christianā*, discovered by Mr. Lemon, Deputy Keeper of the State Papers in 1823. The deed bears date, May 7, 1660, and is a conveyance from John Milton, of the city of Westminster, of a bond for £400 given by the Commissioners of Excise to Cyriack Skinner of Lincoln's Inn, gent.

As to the amanuensis of Milton in the *De Doctrinā Christianā*, Mr. Lemon conjectured the first part, which is in a small, beautiful hand, to have been that of his second daughter, Mary; the remainder is in a totally different hand, of strong character, resembling that of E. Phillips, one of Milton's nephews. Mr. Lemon, however, lived to change his opinion, and became satisfied that the first part, and the whole of the copies of the "State Letters," were in the handwriting of Daniel Skinner. An examination of the handwriting of Skinner, and comparison of it with that of the manuscript of the *Doct. Christ.*, cannot fail, I think, to satisfy any one of their identity.

Our late associate, Mr. Dawson Turner, also possessed what was regarded as a genuine autograph of Milton, being a receipt, in 1669, for the payment of the third five pounds from Simmons for the copyright of the *Paradise Lost*. Presuming that neither Mr. Singer's nor Mr. Turner's signatures were real autographs of Milton, Mr. Sotheby commenced a rigid examination of all the known writings of the poet, or connected with his manuscripts. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford offered abundant evidence as to the real calligraphy of Milton, and in plate xvii of the *Ramblings* Mr. Sotheby has given a fac-simile of ten pages from the Miltonian volume in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

It appears that in 1650, Milton's failure of sight became seriously embarrassing, amounting almost to blindness, and that he thus employed an amanuensis. In 1652 he was totally blind. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject further, Mr. Sotheby may be said to have exhausted it.

We have nothing to record as contributions to the pages of our *Journal*, from our lost associate; but I cannot forbear referring to a remark which occurs in the introduction to the work I have last described, and which bears the date of June 1, 1861. In this passage Mr. Sotheby expresses the gratification he anticipates from the company of archæologists in an examination of Dartmoor. He had proposed to me that, at the conclusion of our Congress at Exeter, we should assemble at his residence at Buckfastleigh Abbey, Devon, and then pass a few days on the moors, making a complete investigation of its character and antiquities. In this we were to be furnished with vans, camp-equipage, and all appliances necessary to the enjoyment of such relaxation and the passing of a night or two on the moor. He liberally offered to take the whole expense upon himself, and was enthusiastic in the idea he enter-

tained. This dream, alas! was not to be realized; and the circumstances connected with his decease were very distressing. In apparently good health, he had, after lunching with his family on the 19th of June, started, as was his custom, for a ramble near the abbey ruins, and the next morning his body was found in the river Dart, in very shallow water. His health had been often in a very precarious condition, and he had suffered greatly from bronchitis in a severe form. To my own knowledge there were threatening symptoms of consumption; from these, however, he had by great care and attention to atmospheric conditions, wonderfully recovered; but he was occasionally liable to fainting fits, and it is conceived that, attacked by one of these when on the brink of the river, he had fallen into the water. Thus was his existence terminated at the age of fifty-five. He was an amiable man, of warm feelings and benevolent disposition; anxious to promote all objects of usefulness, to increase the knowledge of mankind, and to add to the general happiness of his fellow creatures. He leaves behind him, to lament his loss, a wife and three children. It is a matter of no little satisfaction to us that, to manifest the regard with which he esteemed this Association, his highly gifted and intellectual partner has expressed her desire to have her name enrolled, in the place of her departed husband, as an associate of our body.

WILLIAM NEWTON was an associate from the year 1846, and occasionally attended our meetings and our congresses. He was possessed of good general information, and whatever he undertook he pursued with a zeal which went far to ensure success. My acquaintance with him dates from a distant period, inasmuch as he formed one of a small body of juvenile philosophers who met for their mental improvement, and exercised their powers by the delivery of lectures and holding discussion upon subjects most congenial to their tastes. Seeing that Mr. Newton succeeded to his father, well known for his knowledge of land surveying, levelling, and mechanical drawing, also in the construction of globes, it is not surprising that I should have listened to his discourses on optics, astronomy, and geography; and I now speak of a period so far back as 1808 and 1809. My course of study and pursuits removed me from the scene of Mr. Newton's exertions; and our acquaintance was not renewed until accident brought us together upon occasion of an antiquarian gathering, when I enlisted him into our body. We are indebted to him for some communications which are deserving of a passing notice.

In the fourth volume of our *Journal*¹ we find that he exhibited to the Association some drawings of Roman fictile vessels found in excavating a river, by Mr. Waldock of Stotford Mill, Herts. The vases were numerous, both large and small, found about five feet beneath the sur-

¹ P. 72.

face, and some of them contained bones in fragmentary portions, and were in a very crumbling condition.

In Nov. 1852 Mr. Newton made a communication relative to a bronze socket or cylinder bearing an inscription. It was dug up at Hitchin, and supposed to have formed part of a pastoral, or rather pilgrim's, staff. The inscription would seem to countenance this opinion, as it reads—

"-|- Hæc (*scil. crux*) in tute dirigat iter."

It has been engraved in the *Journal*.¹ In December following, Mr. Newton exhibited a gnostic ring found at Whittlesey Mere, representing a figure having four heads, being one of those objects known as polycephalic amulets.²

Mr. Newton's peculiar talent may be described as pertaining to mechanical drawing, which caused him to be much consulted in regard to the specification of patents,—a matter of extreme difficulty, and often involving interests of great magnitude. Directing his attention to the defects in the law, and alive to all the requirements on the part of those seeking to ensure to themselves the legitimate profits of their genius and industry, Mr. Newton speedily acquired distinction; and many improvements in our patent law may be claimed for his exertions. In 1820 he established, and also became editor of, *The Journal of Arts and Sciences*, which proved an important instrument in facilitating the course of improvement. One of its chief features consisted of the reporting of all inventions secured by letters patent. That he should possess much knowledge of various manufactures, flows naturally from such pursuits and facilities; and there were, perhaps, few persons who could better detail the history and progress of lace, woollen, cotton, and other manufactures, than our late associate. To acquire information, he travelled much in this and other countries, and never failed to mark archæological or antiquarian peculiarities; and also to indulge a taste he ever possessed in regard to heraldry, upon which subject he put forth a work, in 1846, entitled *A Display of Heraldry*. Previously to this publication, Mr. Newton had printed *A Familiar Introduction to the Science of Astronomy*, and he also laid down six quarto maps of the heavens for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. In 1855 he published *London in the Olden Time*, of which I have given a notice and illustration in the *Journal*.³

Mr. Newton's life was one of hard work. His unceasing activity at length told upon his strength, and he sought a retreat at a quiet watering-place, Herne Bay, where he passed the remainder of his days in the bosom of his family. Three months previously to his decease, he lost his wife; and he died on the 10th of July, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

¹ Vol. viii, p. 300.

² Ib., p. 371.

³ Vol. xii, p. 197.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES TENNYSON D'EYN COURT, F.R.S., F.S.A., died on the 21st of July last, at the age of seventy-seven years. He was of Trinity College, Cambridge; graduated as B.A. in 1805, but did not take his Master's degree until 1818. He was called to the bar in 1806, but, I believe, never practised. Devoting his attention to politics, he entered Parliament as member for Great Grimsby, and represented that borough till 1826, when he was elected for Bletchingley. In 1831 he was returned for Stamford after a contest of great severity and excitement, and which gave rise to a duel between him and Lord Thomas Cecil, happily unattended by fatal effects. Upon the passing of the Reform Bill he was elected to represent the metropolitan borough of Lambeth, for which he sat twenty years, and then retired to his seat, Bayons Manor, Lincolnshire. He was an active member of Parliament, and in 1830 was appointed Clerk of the Ordnance; a post, however, he filled scarcely two years, retiring on account of the state of his health, upon which he was made a Privy Councillor. By his marriage, in 1808, with Frances Mary, only child of the Rev. John Hutton, of Morton, Lincolnshire, he leaves three sons and three daughters. He is succeeded in his property by his eldest son, George Hildreyard, who is a deputy lieutenant for Lincolnshire. When I first, through his late Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, became acquainted with our deceased associate, his name was Tennyson; and it was not until 1835 that, by royal license, he took the name of D'Eyncourt, in commemoration of his descent from that ancient and noble family, of which he was the representative as co-heir of the earls of Searsdale and the barons D'Eyncourt of Sutton. He also claimed to be descended from the Princess Anne, sister of King Edward IV, through John Savage, Earl Rivers.

Mr. Tennyson D'Eyncourt was a person of agreeable manners and of a courteous disposition. He was much interested in antiquarian research, and was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, also of the Royal Society. His attainments were general, not profound, and he was most highly respected by all with whom he became associated. He filled the office of Steward of Lowton, and he was a magistrate and deputy lieutenant for Lincolnshire. He indulged his architectural taste in the additions he made to his castellated property at Bayons Manor; and in the promotion of education among the rural classes he was active, erecting at his own cost a fine stone building as a school for the district, in which he also, by his own personal exertions, communicated information to those around him.

We have no communications to acknowledge from his connexion with our Association. He, however, contributed to the *Archæologia* a "Notice of a Portrait of John, King of France," now placed in the Musée des Souvenirs at Paris.¹ It is highly interesting if simply regarded as one of

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxviii, p. 196.

the earliest examples of portrait painting preserved to us; but as intimately connected with some historical subjects in relation to our own country, is most worthy of notice. John passed several years of his life in England, having been taken prisoner at the battle of Poictiers in 1356. He died in 1364. Mr. D'Eyncourt was permitted to have a copy of the king's portrait, and he presented to the Society of Antiquaries a reduced fac-simile, made by Mr. Fairholt, in illustration of his paper. The late Rev. Dr. Dibdin had a drawing made from the picture in the Louvre, and it was engraved as an illustration in his *Bibliographical and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany*. The artist of the original portrait is uncertain. He has been conjectured to have been Jean de Bruges, painter to Charles V of France; but it is likewise suggested to have been the work of Maitre Giraud d'Orléans, King John's painter, who was with him in England, and is referred to in the book of accounts, to which Mr. D'Eyncourt makes reference in his communication. From these extracts, Master Giraud appears to have acted as carpenter, gilder, and painter of armorial bearings.

When the Archæological Institute held a congress at Lincoln, in 1848, Mr. D'Eyncourt furnished to the meeting a memoir on the leaden plate, the memorial of William D'Eyncourt, who died in the reign of King William Rufus, which is preserved in the cathedral library at Lincoln.

It remains only for me to state the respect in which I hold his memory, and the regret I feel for his loss, the circumstances of which were of a peculiarly distressing nature; for I learn that he was attacked with paralysis, which completely deprived him of the power of speech, whilst his intellectual faculties remained perfect. He was sensible nearly to the last, but without the power of expressing his wants, or communicating any wishes he may have entertained.

A great loss to our Association, and to the pursuit of archæology, occurs in the death of Mr. THOS. BATEMAN. From the commencement of our Society he was an associate, and attended the first Congress, in 1844, held at Canterbury. Simple and unaffected in his manners, and of a retiring disposition, few could imagine the depth of archæological information he possessed, or, without intimacy, estimate the accuracy of his knowledge. He was eminently a practical archæologist, inheriting his taste from his father, who had made extensive researches among the barrows of Derbyshire and its neighbourhood. Our associate was the only son of Wm. Bateman, Esq., F.S.A., and born in 1821. At the time of his decease, August 28th last, he had not completed his fortieth year. His mother died when he was but a few months old, and his father also when the son had only reached his fourteenth year. He was himself of a weak and sickly nature; and his education was undertaken by his grandfather, Thos. Bateman, Esq., of Middleton Hall, who served the

office of high sheriff for Derby in 1823. In 1847, upon his decease, the whole of the estates descended to his grandson, our associate, who thus became possessed of ample means to indulge any taste he might feel disposed to entertain. From an early period, by the guidance of his father, he was initiated into the passion for collecting, and he was enabled to bring together a very valuable and interesting museum, especially relating to the district in which he resided. Upon the occasion of our Congress at Derby, in 1851, we visited Mr. Bateman, and inspected his treasures; they were contained in what was then a fine museum, to which he has been since constantly making additions, not only from his own personal examination of tumuli, but from the various sales of other collectors which have successively passed under his notice.

The earliest paper with which I am acquainted, from the pen of Mr. Bateman, is that submitted to the Canterbury Congress, in which, through Mr. C. Roach Smith, he gave an account of the opening of tumuli, principally at Middleton by Yolgrave, Derbyshire, from 1821 to 1832. At the conclusion of the Congress this communication was, with others, handed over to the Society of Antiquaries; but it never appeared in the *Archæologia*. The matter, however, was not lost to antiquaries, as the information it conveyed has been incorporated, together with other articles (some of which were printed by us), in his work on *The Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*. In the volume printed by the Association, relating to our Congress at Winchester in 1845, Mr. Bateman has given a paper on the antiquities of Stanton and Hart Hill Moors,¹ and also an account of barrows opened in Derbyshire and Staffordshire by him and another associate of our body, the late Rev. Stephen Isaacson, M.A.² The former of these papers gives to us interesting accounts of the Rock-Basins and of the Temple of Nine Stones, commonly known as the "Nine Ladies," on Stanton Moor. Other primæval remains of this locality are also described and figured in that clear and perspicuous style in which all his communications are conveyed. The latter paper enumerates the products of numerous barrows, to the examination of which he was greatly stimulated by the establishment of our Association, and the means it was likely to afford for the record of such information. How far this operated, at an early period, upon our associate, will appear from the following passage: "The establishment of the British Archæological Association has created a feeling which ultimately will extend through the length and breadth of the land; and those retiring spirits who shrink from the chilling atmosphere of more aged societies, now breathe a more congenial air, and revel in the sunshine of a younger and more generous assembly."³ Thirty-four barrows, varying considerably in their magnitude, were examined by him and Mr. Isaacson, and a particular account drawn up of the contents of each.

¹ Winchester Vol., p. 192.

² Ib., p. 205.

³ Ib.

Many objects were found within them, and several of the skeletons, urns, beads, etc., are preserved in Mr. Bateman's collection at Lomberdale House.

The communications of Mr. Bateman to us are so numerous that I must necessarily confine myself to little more than an enumeration of their subjects. In the *Journal*¹ there are two interesting papers, one on "Sepulchral Crosses in Derbyshire, and more particularly at Bakewell," the other on "Saxon Remains from Bakewell Church." The various sepulchral crosses are there admirably depicted, and have been frequently referred to by subsequent writers on this branch of antiquity. Bakewell church is a foundation of the fourteenth century; and among the ancient tombs discovered during a restoration many Saxon fragments were met with, which are figured in the *Journal*. Among them we must specify a magnificent coped tomb, belonging to a very early period. The ornamentation of knot and interlaced work, monsters, half-animal, half-vegetable, griffons, etc., are singular monuments of an early Christian period.

In 1846 Mr. Bateman exhibited early Saxon coins found at York, a rare sceatta, and an unpublished gold coin copied from a Byzantine type. He also gave an account of the discovery of sepulchral Roman remains, consisting of a variety of urns, some containing calcined bones, three leaden coffins, each formed of one sheet of metal, peculiarly Roman, and a tomb formed of tiles, having the impress of one of the Roman legions stationed at York. A variety of coins of Valens, Valentinian and Gratian added to the richness of the discovery.² Further discoveries of celts and other bronze antiquities at York are described.³ There were no less than sixty pieces of metal in a large vessel, and they served to mark distinctly the mechanical purposes for which they had been designed. They have been deposited in the York Museum, and are figured in our *Journal*. By examination of these Mr. Bateman traced satisfactorily the form of the chisel, doubtless the meaning of the commonly used word *celtis*, a chisel.

From Nottinghamshire Mr. Bateman described some Romano-British and Saxon remains found between the years 1836 and 1842. They were along with skeletons, each body having two spears of iron, varying from about eight to fifteen inches in length. A coin of Carausius, third brass, was in one of the interments, so that they could not be placed earlier than the fourth century. A portion of a cup, formed of thin yellow glass, with the word SEMPER and the figure of a bird, was found; vases and fibulae, some of interest, were also met with, and are figured in our *Journal*.⁴

One of the most important barrows opened by Mr. Bateman was at Benty Grange, Derbyshire, in 1848, the particulars of which, together

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 256, 303.

² ii, 192.

³ iii, 58.

⁴ Ib., p. 299.

with representations of the objects, are given in the *Journal*.¹ A curious assemblage of ornaments, many enamelled, occur in this examination; and Mr. Bateman was enabled to make out the complete form of a helmet, with the silver binding and ornaments of a leather cap. Mr. Bateman has also given² an account of a Roman pig of lead found in Notts, inscribed c. IVL. PROTI. BRIT. LVT. EX. ARG.

The proceedings of our Derby Congress offer many notices by Mr. Bateman. On this occasion we visited his museum, and received a most hearty welcome and generous entertainment. I have already referred to the importance of its contents, and I pass on therefore to specify Mr. Bateman's particular communications. He favoured us with remarks upon a few of the barrows opened at various times in the more hilly districts near Bakewell,³ and drew inferences of importance to the ethnologist. It is a valuable paper, and will not admit of abbreviation. It is amply illustrated. This volume of the *Journal* also contains the particulars of a controversy between Mr. Bateman and Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, growing out of the proceedings of the Congress in relation to the contents of the barrows and the periods to which they are to be referred. Mr. Fitzherbert felt disposed to attribute them to Saxon times; Mr. Bateman, from their contents, was fully satisfied that they belonged to an earlier period.

Late in 1851 Mr. Bateman opened a most complete and well preserved cist, nearly six feet in length, and of the same breadth at the largest part. It was five feet in height, covered with an immense stone, and furnished with a smaller adjoining chamber or gallery.⁴ A curious discovery is also recorded of a portion of chain mail found in Staffordshire;⁵ the rings were secured by one rivet only. Examples of this kind of English armour are of rare occurrence.

At our Congress in Notts in 1852 Mr. Bateman contributed an account of early burial places in that county,⁶ and he has detailed, with his usual precision, the particulars relating to them. They are accompanied by illustrations. In 1853 he forwarded to the Association one of those formerly common, but now very rare, articles to be met with known as a horn-book.⁷ It was found upon taking down an old house at Middleton, and is of the time of Charles I. Mr. Halliwell favoured the Association with observations upon the specimen, and on the horn-book generally, which appropriately accompany the plates illustrative of this antiquity. They belong to the most curious relics of the educational system adopted by our ancestors. In the same volume will be found an account of a fibula of a peculiar form belonging to the later Anglo-Saxon period, and a carved ivory knife-handle of the time of Charles II,

¹ iv, 276.

⁴ Ib., 434.

⁶ viii, 183-192.

² v, 79.

⁵ Ib., 438.

⁷ ix, 72.

³ vii, 210.

interesting for its illustration of costume. He likewise exhibited a bronze Hercules with the slain dragon and one of the apples from the Garden of Hesperides, found at York, and deposited in Mr. Bateman's museum.

In 1855 he forwarded to us an account of the discovery of a large quantity of Anglo-Saxon pennies at Scotby, near Carlisle, and furnished a list with their several inscriptions.¹

In 1856 Mr. Bateman opened more Saxon graves at Winster, Derbyshire. In the *Journal*² he describes the manner of burial. A quern, of a bee-hive shape, was discovered with one of the skeletons.

In 1857 he exhibited a very fine Roman finger ring of silver, set with an oval cornelian, having engraved upon it the figure of a deer. This, together with a brass spear-head, had been found in a tumulus in 1855 at Stone, near Aylesbury, whence many Roman remains had been obtained.

The attention of our Association has been frequently directed to Celtic and Roman antiquities said to have been found in the Thames at Battersea. In 1858 Mr. Bateman sent to us a bronze sword of the leaf-shaped form, twenty-five inches long; another measuring twenty-six inches, although two inches must have been broken off from the haft; a bronze dagger; a bronze spear; a human skull; and a portion of very thin hammered bronze, all of which had been purchased by him for his museum as articles found in that locality. Mr. Cuming has drawn the attention of the Society to these and other articles of a similar character in a paper inserted in the *Journal*,³ to which I refer you for precise and valuable information on the subject.

In 1859 Mr. Bateman transmitted to me the impression of a seal, the matrix of which was of ivory. The seal purported to have belonged to Christopher Sutton, prebendary of Biggleswade in Bedfordshire. I have given an account of it in the *Journal*.⁴

Mr. Bateman made excavations at Gib Hill tumulus in 1848. This had been previously examined by his father in 1824, but the results were not satisfactory. Further examination justified Mr. Bateman in his opinion, and the result is given in the *Journal*.⁵ Mr. Bateman also gave an account of some Anglo-Saxon antiquities found at Caistor in Lincolnshire.⁶ A bronze pin, with three triangular shreds, similar to what has been found in Livonian graves, but never before in England, was there discovered.

In 1860 Mr. Bateman exhibited to us a fine gold bulla of Anglo-Saxon workmanship found with a skeleton.⁷

In the *Journal* for the last year we have recorded the exhibition of a

¹ xi, 350.

³ xiv, 326.

⁵ xv, 151.

² xiii, 226.

⁴ xvii, 75. Plate 8, fig. 4.

⁶ xvi, 23. Plate 23, fig. 5.

⁷ Ib., fig. 3.

bronze sword, with a scabbard ornament of much rarity,¹ found at Ebberston in Yorkshire.

Thus has our lost and deeply lamented Associate laboured with us from the commencement of our Association to the close of his life. As separate publications issued by Mr. Bateman, I have to enumerate the following:—"Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire, 8vo., 1848": this has gone through two editions; "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities and Miscellaneous Objects preserved in the Museum of Thomas Bateman at Lomberdale House, Derbyshire, 8vo., 1855." The objects are arranged under the heads of—1. Britannic Collection; 2. Ethnographical; 3. Relics; 4. Arms and Armour; 5. Collections illustrative of Arts and Manufactures. Many of the objects are figured.

Just prior to his decease he put forth a volume entitled "Ten Years' Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Grave-hills in the Counties of Derby, Stafford, and York." A truly valuable volume to the practical barrow-digger, every appearance being most carefully noted. He was engaged (and the MS. is in a very forward state) upon a Catalogue of his MSS., with palæographic and bibliographical notes; and he was likewise preparing another edition of the Catalogue of his museum, many additions having been made since its publication in 1855. As the Collections are to be preserved entire, it is hoped that these MSS. may be submitted to the press.

JAMES CLARKE, of Easton, Suffolk, was one of those to whom the establishment of our Association proved a great source of enjoyment and improvement. He became an Associate in 1847. Imbued with a taste for antiquities, and active as a collector of all found in his neighbourhood, it was no light matter to him to be enabled to transmit an account of his discoveries and his acquisitions to be examined into and commented upon. He looked with great anxiety to the quarterly appearance of the *Journal*, and was proud in any way to contribute to its pages. His communications are numerous, if they are not of any great importance. His first contribution was of a brass plate of the twelfth or thirteenth century, representing a seated figure playing on a harp between two flowers, and surrounded in a doubled pearlled circle + AVE : MARIA : GRACIA : PLENA : DOMINUS : TECUM.² This was followed during successive years by a white stone jug, found at Framlingham, with the date 1591,³ a brass mortar from the old foundations of the North Pier at Yarmouth, 1554, with a bust of Queen Elizabeth;⁴ a flat personal seal in lead found at Easton -+ SIGIL. F. -+ ELIPI. HALAT.;⁵ a gold British coin;⁶ three ancient rings from Saxmundham and Hempstead in Essex;⁷ a silver coin of Henry IV of France, 1604, found near Hoo church;⁸ various pennies of Henry III, mostly of the London mint,

¹ xvii. Pl. 30, fig. 2.

² Journal, v, 163.

³ Ib.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Ib., 166.

⁶ Ib., 167.

⁷ vi, 158.

⁸ Ib., 445.

found at the base of the barbican of Framlingham castle, also one of Henry II;¹ a testoon of Edward VI, from Framlingham, and a gold coin found at Hoo;² account of a Roman vault at Rosas Pit containing urns, bones, etc.;³ a counterfeit sterling, struck in Flanders;⁴ a silver halfpenny, conjectured to be of Henry V;⁵ a Commonwealth sixpence, weighing sixty-six grains; a testoon found at Rochford, weighing sixty-seven grains; one of the counterfeits of the times of the Edwards I, II, III; a half-guinea of Charles II, found at Wickham Market; a penny of Edward II, found at Easton; an angelet of Henry VI, and a half-penny of Henry VIII, four grains and a half;⁶ various coins found at Brandeston, Letheringham, and Easton;⁷ silver seal, with crest of Mowbray, found at Kettleborough Hall;⁸ three rubbings of brasses from Easton church: John Brook, 1426, John and Radcliffe Wingfield, 1584-1601;⁹ notice of mural paintings in Easton church;¹⁰ coins of Charles II found at Earlsham, and medals of Charles I from Halesworth;¹¹ discovery of Roman coins in a brick-kiln; a rose noble of Edward IV, found at Halesworth, weighing one hundred and twenty grains;¹² pennies of Stephen and Edward I, found at Framlingham; a token of Saxmundham; medal of Charles I, found at Woodbridge;¹³ a *fuciam unit* found at Dennington, and a halfpenny of Edward I, found at Letheringham;¹⁴ a penny of Ethelred II, found at Brandeston, and other pieces, in different parts of Suffolk;¹⁵ a Roman urn, found at Kettleborough;¹⁶ various tokens of Wickham Market, Framlingham, etc.;¹⁷ silver medal of Charles I and Henrietta, by Simon de Passe;¹⁸ coins of Edward III, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and Alexander of Scotland, found in Suffolk;¹⁹ three seals of various periods;²⁰ a circular gold ring of fifteenth century;²¹ a seal from bronze matrix + CREDE MNCHI.²² Mr. Clarke's last communication was made in April 1861, and was on the exhibition of a denarius of Otho IV, emperor of Germany, 1208-1212. Our associate's health had been failing for some time, and he expired Sept. 25th, at the age of sixty-three.

WILLIAM GEORGE CARTER was an exceedingly well-informed man, and of great benevolence. He paid much attention to antiquities and literature, and was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He joined our Association in 1857, and died at the age of seventy-four, on the 19th of November last. There are no contributions from him in our *Journal*. He was professionally engaged for thirty-five years as solicitor to the Coldstream Guards.

EDWARD STEPHEN LEE was also a solicitor; joined us as an associate in 1855, and died on the 12th December last at the age of forty-one.

1 Ib., 452.	7 x, 90.	13 xi, 347.	18 Ib.
2 viii, 159.	8 Ib., 99.	14 Ib., 350.	19 Ib., 348.
3 Ib., 160.	9 x, 179.	15 xii, 83.	20 xiv, 337.
4 Ib., 360.	10 Ib., 180.	16 xiii, 234.	21 Ib., 342.
5 Ib.	11 Ib., 190.	17 Ib., 235.	22 xvi, 267.
6 ix, 73.	12 Ib., 383.		

APRIL 23.

GEORGE VERE IRVING, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Francis Fox, M.D., of Brislington, near Bristol, was elected an associate.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 48. 8vo. 1862.
 " " Journal of the Numismatic Society. March, 1862. 8vo.
 " " Archæological Journal. No. 71 for Sept. 1861. 8vo.
 " " Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society's Proceedings for 1860. Vol. x. 8vo. 1861.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for April. 8vo.

Mr. Charles Whitley transmitted two Roman vessels of terra-cotta, found at Hoddesden, Herts, referred to at the meeting, Feb. 12 (see p. 268 *ante*). The paste of both is fine, soft, and of a grey colour. One is skittle-shaped, five inches high, scored with a broad band of trellis-work, beneath which is a broad band of diagonally indented dots. In general outline it may be compared with an example from Upchurch, in the *Journal* (ii, p. 136, fig. 5). The second vessel is of a squat form, nearly four inches high, approaching in contour to fig. 4 in the group of Kentish pottery just referred to.

Mr. Forman exhibited two Roman ansa-shaped fibulae of bronze, formerly in the collection of Mr. Whincopp. The front of the arc of the smaller specimen is engraved with a band of little crescents, and the plate above and the side of the catch with cyclet-holes. The larger fibula, found at Colchester, 1851, is a remarkably fine example of the type given in this *Journal* (iv, 286, and x, 91, and specially referred to in xvii, 233). Like the Kenchester and Ratcliff fibulae, as well as that of gold from Odiham, Hampshire (now in the British Museum), it has bosses at the ends of the transverse bar, but has lost the one that crowned the arc. The front of the bar is wrought in an unusual manner. The stem, like the arc, has a deep sulcus down its centre, and is decorated with small crescents. Round the base of the arc of a gold fibula of this type, found in Scotland, was wound a minute gold chain; and in the present specimen this space is occupied by a fine, twisted bronze wire.

Mr. Forman also produced a girdle-buckle discovered in an Anglo-Saxon barrow in East Kent. It is of base silver, and, as usual, consists of a compressed oval frame and bent tongue, with broad, semicircular top; both being hinged to a long plate which has three shanks at the back for attachment to the girdle. The surface of this plate is sculptured with a dice-border, filled in with a zigzag of diagonal lines. An Anglo-

Saxon girdle-buckle from Kent, of different form, will be seen in *Journal*, iv, 158.

A further exhibition by Mr. Forman was a pair of Merovingian ear-rings of exceedingly base silver, but of most elaborate fabric. They consist of square plates with a papilla-shaped boss in the centre and one at each corner, the fields being covered with filigrane. Beneath each plate is attached a sort of basket ornament, which looks somewhat like the ear of a balloon; and the stout wires to pass through the lobes of the ears have spiral surfaces.

Mr. Forman likewise contributed some fine examples of buttons, obtained at the sale of Mr. Whincopp's collection in June 1856. Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that, "The series now produced extends in date from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and presents some rare and curious types. The earliest are the hollow, convex buttons of brass with strong, flat-sided shanks, and the faces graven with quaint devices, in which clouds or scrolls seem the leading motive. These buttons appear to be of the time of Edward III. The convex, hexagonal button of brass with each face graven with scrolls, and the truncated apex with a minute quatrefoil, and having a strong, flat-sided shank, may belong to the early part of the fifteenth century. Most of the buttons that follow were linked in pairs, and employed to close the cloak or mantle. The earlier buttons were open at the back; but these, whilst retaining the convex fronts, have flat plates at the back, upon which the wire shank is soldered. The first to notice is a curious pair of silver buttons; the repoussé devices consisting of a female bust with dishevelled hair, crown of four pointed rays rising from a bandeau of five roses, necklace of seven beads, and on the front of the dress a rose, or quatrefoil brooch. Beneath the bust are clouds, and on the dexter side a rose, on the sinister a daisy. In Brayley's *Graphic Illustrator* (p. 125) are two 'ancient cloak buttons' of like size, material, and device, discovered near the banks of the Thames in excavating for the New Hungerford Market, and conjectured to have been 'made and worn in honour of Elizabeth of York.' This strange fancy was probably derived from a plate of some painted glass published by W. Ellis in 1792, which is stated to represent Elizabeth, heiress of the house of York, and queen of Henry VII; but both glass and buttons really display the 'Maiden's head' of the Mercers' Company. This honourable fraternity was incorporated by charter A.D. 1393; but the buttons do not appear to be older than the sixteenth century, and were probably used by some of the brotherhood to secure their cloaks on festive occasions. Next to these busts of the Virgin may be placed a silver link-button with a group of St. George and the dragon, found in the House of Lords in 1837, and on the back of which are attached the letters H. W. Following this great mantle-button stands a delicate specimen, described by its former owner as a 'silver button

richly wrought in filigree. Heriot's dress. Ja^s I.' Whether this button be actually from the doublet of the royal and loyal goldsmith, or merely resembles those shewn in his portraits, may be a question; but, whichever may be the case, it is a beautiful example of the hollow, globose buttons of the period, with a central and seven surrounding knobs projecting like pearls from the surface. To the seventeenth century may be referred a pair of silver, linked buttons with solid backs, and convex fronts formed of loops of filigrane radiating from a central boss. Of somewhat later date is a rose-shaped link-button of pewter with a central and six surrounding papilla-shaped protuberances. The design of this specimen is bold and effective, and worthy of reproduction as an ornament in the present day. The remaining examples are all of the eighteenth century, mostly round, oval, and octagonal wrist-buttons of silver and brass, decorated with roses, crowns, hearts, and other devices, and busts of Queen Anne, George I, William Duke of Cumberland, Dean Swift, Louis XV, etc. One brass button has on it a friar with a basket in his left hand, and on his back a bundle of straw, in which a damscl is concealed, surrounded by the words COUVENT PROVIDV."

Mr. Gunston made the following communication relating to a professed discovery of antiquities in the vicinity of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell:

"During the latter part of March last, two men, dressed as navvies, came to me and stated that they belonged to a gang employed in excavating for the Metropolitan Underground Railway, and that a few days previously, at a depth of twenty feet, was discovered, in apparently an old well, the remains of a wooden chest, in which were a number of leaden medals and figures, some of which they had brought for inspection and for sale. Having communicated with Mr. H. Syer Cuming, they were carefully examined, and the affair was at once regarded as an attempt at deception.

"The collection, as offered, consists of crowned monarchs clothed in ecclesiastical vestments, one holding his sword depressed with the right hand, whilst the left points upwards; another displays a banner on which the Virgin and child are represented; and a third upholds a cross and mundus. There are also knights furnished with various styles of maseled and chain-mail armour, archbishops, bishops, abbots, sub-deacons, deacons, priests, and acolytes; with mitres, croziers, and other proper emblems; nuns and laymen in strange forms and attitudes; heads of processional staves; incense cups, patens, and ewers; besides a quantity of triangular and circular plaques, with loops for suspension, each bearing a rude device and inscription. Their material is a mixture of old and new lead steeped in acid and dirt; many being broken and pierc'd in parts, to give the appearance of antiquity. In every instance they have been cast in different moulds, and vary in height from six to twenty-four inches, weighing separately from eight ounces to six pounds.

"I have been induced to bring these specimens before the Association, to shew that fabricated antiquities and fictitious 'finds' still continue to be forced upon us notwithstanding the notices already given,—particularly by our body,—and trust that the above may not be altogether useless, but rather invite collectors to continued watchfulness."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper (see pp. 153-156 *ante*, and plate 10) on the shrine in the possession of the Lord Bishop of Ely, exhibited to the Association on the 26th of February last.

Mr. Wakeman made the following communication in relation to the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne's paper of "Illustrations of Domestic Manners during the Reign of Edward I" (see pp. 66-75 *ante*):

"Who was Bogo de Clare?—On more than one occasion has our excellent friend, Mr. Planché, impressed upon the members of the Association the '*great importance of rectifying or verifying the minutest details affecting the genealogies of our Anglo-Norman families,*' in regard to the light which such researches are calculated to throw upon history and biography. It is certainly to be regretted that the pedigrees of these noble houses should have come down to us in such an imperfect state. In the last number of the *Journal*, and the very interesting paper by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, under the head of 'Illustrations of Domestic Manners,' etc., he has given extracts from a roll of household expenses of 'a certain Bogo de Clare,' in 1284; upon whom he observes: 'There is nothing to be gathered from the roll itself to shew who this individual was. In the accounts that have been written by Dugdale and others concerning the noble family of the earls of Clare, no such person appears on the pedigree, or in any way connected with this illustrious house. The only individual of the name that has occurred is a Bogo de Clare, who, by a charter in the nineteenth year of Edward I, had a grant of a fair at Follerton in Yorkshire. He is mentioned as treasurer of the cathedral of York.' Certain it is that Dugdale's genealogies are not to be implicitly relied upon; yet succeeding writers have, for the most part, contented themselves with copying him, and given themselves no trouble in verifying his statements. I lately had occasion to notice an extraordinary error in his pedigree of another noble family; and many of his mistakes in that of this family of De Clare were pointed out in a pamphlet published in 1730; but the corrections therein noticed related to an earlier period than the reign of Edward I.

"Mr. Hartshorne says: 'From the repeated notices these daily accounts give of the visits of the De Mortimers to Bogo de Clare; from the mention of his acquaintance with the prior of Strigil and Henry de Ludlow, who was the builder of Stokesay, it seems very probable that he was some connexion of the great earls of Clare,'—meaning the Clares earls of Gloucester,—in which he is perfectly correct. He was, indeed, a younger brother of Gilbert de Clare surnamed the 'Red Earl of

Gloucester and Hertford.' In the inquisition *post mortem* of Johanna, widow of Gilbert the Red, and an extent of the castle and manor of Tregrug, in the 35th Edward I, the jury say 'that, at the time when the said earl (Gilbert the Red) surrendered his lands and tenements into the hands of our lord the king (*i.e.*, in 1290), Bogo de Clare, *brother* of the said earl, held the castle and manor (of Tregrug) by grant of the said earl, made long before the said surrender to the said Bogo and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten; and that after the death of the said Bogo the said castle and manor descended to the said earl by hereditary right, because the said Bogo died without issue of his body lawfully begotten.' This sufficiently establishes his parentage, and that he died before his brother the 'Red Earl,' whose death happened on the 25th December, 1295. An entry in another inquisition and extent of the same castle and manor, taken on 27 Sept. (8 Edw. II) 1315, after the death of his nephew Gilbert, son of the 'Red Earl,' and the last earl of the family, may be noticed, although not very complimentary as shewing the character of the man. The jury say 'that there is a certain tenement there of thirty-six acres, formerly the property of Scisild ap Grono and Howel ap Grono, which is in the earl's hands by the extortion, as is said, of Bogo de Clare, and for which the heirs are suing at law; and it is worth, by the year, six shillings.'

"Besides the office of treasurer of York, Bogo de Clare was rector of Fordingbridge in Wilts, and chancellor of Llandaff: the latter by the appointment of his brother, who, as lord of Glamorgan, claimed the advowson of the bishopric and the appointment of all the dignitaries and officers in the cathedral. Accordingly, upon the death of Bishop William de Breuse, in March 1286-7, the earl seized all the temporalities in Glamorgan, as did other lords marchers in what is now the county of Monmouth. The chapter having elected Philip de Staunton, precentor of Wells, to the vacant see, Bogo refused to attach the seal to the return. The documents relating to this claim, and the dispute with the crown, are published in Browne Willis' *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff*, which may be referred to. The chancellorship of Llandaff is appendant to the prebendal stall in that church, called 'Prebendo Magistri Howel'; and no doubt Bogo de Clare held some living attached to that prebend, and very probably other church preferment at present unknown.

"The castle of Tregrug, mentioned above, is between two and three miles from Usk, and is more generally known as Llangibby Castle, of which there are considerable remains.

"Having proved who Bogo de Clare was, I will venture to inquire if any of our associates can inform me whose son Sir Nicholas de Clare was. He and a Richard de Clare, whose parentage is equally unknown, attended Gilbert, the last earl of Gloucester, at a tournament at Dunstable, in 1309, as his esquires. On the death of his lord he had the

custody of the manor, etc., of Campden, in Gloucestershire, committed to him. This seems to shew that he was a relative of the earl. He held an estate near Monmouth, under the Duke of Lancaster, by knight's service, which in 1361 was in the possession of his widow Johanna. He was buried in the church of the Black Friars at Hereford, being then a knight. There were several others of the name of Clare, who are unnoticed in the family pedigrees : among others, the Richard de Clare mentioned above as one of Earl Gilbert's esquires at Dunstable, may be the 'Magister Ricardus de Clare' who was one of the king's escheators in the counties *citra* Trent, from 8th to 18th Edward II ; and *ultra* Trent, 10th Edward II ; and the same, I suppose, as 'Magister Ricardus de Clare, clericus,' who, in 18th Edward II, was fined a hundred shillings for having acquired an estate in Ruardean, Gloucestershire, without the king's licence. He had the custody of great part of the property of Earl Gilbert in England ; which, however, does not prove his relationship, as it may have been by virtue of his office of escheator.

"Should any of our associates have met with anything respecting either of these individuals, they would much oblige me by communicating it."

MAY 14.

GEORGE VERE IRVING, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Herbert Hadden, Esq., of Bessborough Gardens, was elected a corresponding member.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :—

To the Society : Collections by the Sussex Archaeological Society. Vol. xiii. Sussex, 8vo., 1861.

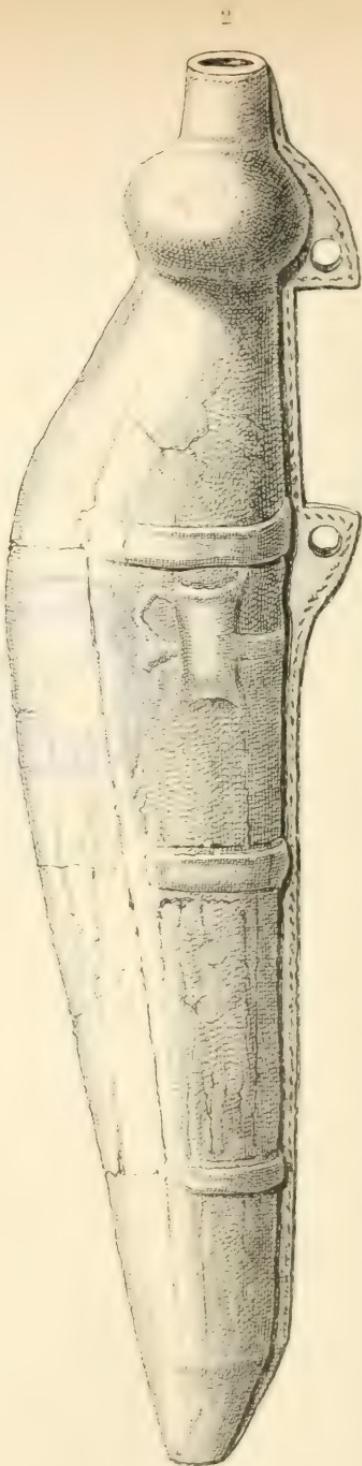
„ „ Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Vol. xiii, forming vol. i. New Series. Liverpool, 1861. 8vo.

„ „ First Annual Report of the Committee of the Five Societies of Liverpool Gallery of Inventions and Science. Liverpool, 1861. 8vo.

To the Publisher : Gentleman's Magazine for May 1861. 8vo.

Mr. John Turner exhibited the following objects discovered in excavating opposite the Carron Wharf, Upper Thames-street :—1. Knifehaft of bone, three inches and a half high, representing a lady of the time of Henry IV, clothed in a long tight-fitting gown, the head being covered with a kerchief or veil of square form, with a bandeau in front adorned with crosses, bearing on her left hand a hawk. The hawk upon the finger is indicative of rank as early as the twelfth century, see





the seal of Isabel, Countess of Gloucester, first wife of King John (*Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1840, p. 602.) 2. Gourd-shaped bottle of brown earth, similar to one given in the *Journal* (v, 28), which may be compared with the vessel held by the grotesque figure in vol. i, 144, there stated to belong to the close of the fifteenth century. 3. Drinking pot with loop-handle at the side, of buff coloured paste covered with the reddish-brown glaze so greatly used in the seventeenth century. 4. Portion of a large circular dish of delft ware, the inside painted in blue on a white field, the outside covered with yellow glaze: date, second half of the seventeenth century. 5. Fragments of a polychromic gully tile, painted with the quarter of a full blown rose, four tiles being required to complete the Tudor device: date, sixteenth century. 6. Two fine boars' tusks. 7. A squat bottle of green glass, about five inches and a half high, found in the garden of Lindsey House, Chelsea. It is of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Gunston exhibited two bosses, apparently from targets or buckles of the time of Henry VIII, lately recovered from the bed of the river Fleet. They are both of latten, one being two inches and a quarter diameter, the other, rather less than two inches. The broad flat verge of the larger specimen is graven with a mæander, and perforated for three rivets; that of the lesser boss is stamped in very low relief, with four circlets containing profile busts, with foliage between, the whole being on a granulated field. The latten umbo of a highland target found in the Thames is described in this *Journal*, xiii, 314.

Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., laid before the meeting a drawing of a stone jug cut in solid sandstone, found recently at Moor Grange near to Kirkstall Abbey. It has a large handle and is of an uncouth form, measuring nine inches in breadth by five in height. The handle measures six inches.

Lord Boston exhibited a remarkable example of a shoo horn belonging to the time of Elizabeth. It was procured by his lordship from the effects of a convent sold at Brussels thirty years since. It is formed out of a fine ox horn full nineteen inches and a half in length, the black tip hollowed out to hang upon a hook and surrounded by four rings. The white convex surface of the object is decorated with three panels containing the following subjects:—SPES with a large anchor; CARITAS accompanied by three nude children, one of whom holds an apple; FIDES seated on a bank, supporting a great cross, and beneath her name is the date 1595. (See Plate 15, Fig. 1.) The outlines of all the devices are well and carefully executed, and are rubbed in with a black pigment which gives the appearance of slightly shaded copper plate engravings.

Mr. Syer Cuming, hon. sec., remarked that "the origin of this article of the toilet is unknown. That it was originally formed of horn seems certain from the name. Our Latin dictionaries give us the words *cornu*

calceatorum, and *pternoboleus*, but these titles are the mere fancy of the lexicographers and cannot be received as testimony that the Romans helped on their *calceus* with the horn. Whatever its antiquity may really be, we do not find any very clear mention of the implement until the sixteenth century, when it is spoken of so frequently and familiarly by writers of that era, that it must have then been well known and extensively employed. In John Still's comedy of '*Gammer Gurton's Needle*,' produced in 1566, we find *Diccon the Bedlem*, saying in the first scene of the first act—

— ‘out at doores I hyed mee,
And caught a slyp of bacon, when I saw none spyd mee,
Which I intend not far hence, unles my purpose fayle,
Shall serve for a *shoing horne* to draw on two pots of ale.’

“In Nash's *Pierce Pennilesse's Supplication to the Devil*, 1592, p. 23, it is stated, ‘We have general rules and injunctions as good as printed precepts, or statutes set doun by acte of parliament, that goe from drunkard to drunkard as still to keepe your first man, not to leave any flockes in the bottom of the cup, to knocke the glasse on your thumbe when you have done, to have some *shoeing horne* to pull on your wine, as a rasher of the coles, or a redde herring.’ And in *Lenten Stuff*, 1599, is a further metaphorical allusion to the implement, ‘It not only sucks up all the rheumatick inundations, but is a *shoeing horn* for a pint of wine overplus.’ Shakspeare makes one reference to the shoeing-horn. ‘A thrifty *shoeing-horn* in a chain, hanging at his brother's leg,’ (*Troilus and Cressida*, v, 1). Distinct mention is made of it by Ben Jonson in his *Bartholomew Fair* (ii, 2). *Justice Adam Overdo* addressing *Ursula* the pig woman, exclaims, ‘By thy leave, goodly woman, and the fatness of the fair; oily as the king's constable's lamp, and shining as his *shooing-horn* !’

“These citations are sufficient proof that the shoe-slip was no novelty in the days of Elizabeth and James, and we have now, by the kindness of Lord Boston, tangible evidence of its existence in the reign of the first named sovereign.

“In addition to horn, we find steel, brass, ivory, and tortoiseshell, employed in the manufacture of the shoe-slip, which was formerly not only embellished with engraving and sculpture, but with pique work of gold and silver; but in our times neither art nor taste is displayed in the implement.

“The use of the shoe-horn or slip has not been restricted to our own quarter of the globe, for the *Chinese* have a perfect knowledge of it, and may, perhaps, have employed it long before its appearance among the barbarians.”

Mr. Cuming exhibited an example, full five inches long, wrought of transparent buffalo horn, perforated near the apex for suspension, and

graven on the concave side with a circle inclosing three or four seal characters, probably the name of the maker or former possessor of the article. Another specimen, of much later date and more complex design, may be seen in the case of Chinese curiosities in the British Museum. It was obtained at Shanghae, and has on either side the haft a brush, that on the convex face being composed of white, that on the concave, of brown hair. It is, therefore, uncertain as to whom should be assigned the honour of the invention of the shoeing-horn—to the oriental or occidental nations?

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth transmitted a paper in continuation of former communications on Roman remains at Bath, which see, pp. 289 *ante*.

MAY 28TH.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. in the Chair.

Mrs. Bateman, of Lomberdale House, Yolgrave, was elected an associate.

Thanks were voted to the Canadian Institute for their *Journal*, No. xxxviii, for March 1862. 8vo.

The chairman read an extract of a letter he had received from Dr. R. R. Madden, of Dublin, who has recently been in Algiers, where he examined a considerable number of cromlechs, in all respects identical with those found in this country. Prior to the French occupation there were, according to the estimates of different persons, from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and eighty, but, with the exception of thirteen now remaining perfect and to be preserved, they have been destroyed. Dr. Madden has laid the particulars before the Royal Irish Academy, in whose *Transactions* his paper will appear. Dr. Madden announced that he was also preparing a paper on the African origin of these monuments, connecting them with those of Phoenicia and some adjacent countries.

The Rev. T. Wiltshire transmitted various flint implements discovered at Bridlington, East Riding of York, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations:—

"All the flints from Bridlington are evidently split from larger masses, the majority manifesting the handiwork of man,—form and design being apparent, rudeness, however, constituting the leading character. The most simple shaped instruments are the long, narrow, triangular spawls, usually, and perhaps correctly, denominated knives, but which in one instance has distinct traces of teeth along the convex edge, converting it into a little saw. Flint saws have been found in Denmark, one in the Copenhagen Museum, measuring about seven inches in length; and in this country saw-marks have been detected on portions of stag's antlers, discovered with objects referrible to the stone period. Of more artificial

contour than the knives are the arrow and javelin blades. These, like all the extreme archaic flint instruments, must have been fashioned with few blows, broad conchoidal fractures being seen throughout the examples, whereas the implements of later date were chipped into shape by a succession of strokes, leaving numerous small undulations over the surface and round the edges. In addition to the narrow knives and missile blades, are broad pieces of sharp flint of less definite purpose, some conjectured to have been employed as knives or scrapers, to be held between the thumb and finger without the adjunct of a haft. They may, however, have been set along the edge of a stout staff like the Obsidian blades of the Mexican *miquahuilt*. Most of these Bridlington specimens are patinated in a way which only a long series of ages could effect, and coupled with their rude fabric, proves them to be of a remote antiquity."

As a contrast to these genuine relics of the Stone Period, Mr. Cuming laid before the meeting two arrow blades made on January 6th, 1862, by the notorious Yorkshire forger, William Smith.¹ The first is wrought of black flint, flat on one side and keeled on the other, and having a thick pointed tang. The second is of grey flint, flat sided, barbed, and with a short thin tang. They are both most exact imitations of ancient weapons, and as such demand our censure.

Mr. Syer Cuming also read the following on ancient fibulae, laid before the Association by Mr. W. H. Forman. "Taking the examples in chronological sequence, we first notice a rota-formed fibula of bronze, two inches in diameter, which may be compared, in some respects, to one engraved in the *Journal*.² The frame (nine inches and one-sixteenth wide) is divided into an outer and inner circle, both having been filled with mosaic enamel, now much ruined. The centre is crossed by a thin bar having a ring in the middle, the socket doubtlessly of a prominent ornament like that in the trinket just referred to. The *acus* was hinged between staples, and its point received in a broad hasp or catch, perforated in a similar way to the example last mentioned. Another feature to notice is an annulet projecting from the edge of the verge, resembling that on the Silchester fibula, given also in the *Journal*.³ Such annulets are also seen on the pelta-formed examples from Northamptonshire,⁴ and sandal-shaped one engraved.⁵ To these little rings five chains or cords were in all probability attached, by which the trinkets were secured to the garments of the wearers.

"Roman fibulae of bronze are common, those of gold and silver extremely rare, but among the specimens produced is a circular brooch of

¹ This man went by a variety of *cognomina*,—"Skin and Grief," "Fossil Willy," "Snake Willy," "Snake Jack," and "Bag of Bones."

² xvi, p. 270, fig. 2.

³ i, p. 147.

⁴ i, p. 327; iii, 25.

⁵ xvi, p. 271, fig. 4.

the latter metal, which seems to belong to the close of the Imperial regime. The frame is one inch and a half in diameter, and full a quarter of an inch wide, composed of an inner beading from which diverge thirty-two ovate rays, between the base of each of which is stamped a leaflet. The silver *acus* is hinged in staples, and received in a hasp in true classic mode, and, however modern the trinket may at first sight appear to be, we cannot on consideration refuse to allow it a Roman origin.

"Of far more doubtful age and parentage is the third fibula, which partakes in some degree of a Roman type. It is of base silver, and may be described as a wire-edged crescent with a biped lizard in high relief on its field, and a boss on either horn; and beneath a stem, terminating in a third boss; from the hollow of the lunette springs the wire *acus*, which is received in a fold of metal at the back of the stem. The localities of the above fibulae are lost, and the genuineness of the last specimen is not free from suspicion.

"The next group of trinkets introduces us to an entirely different class of fastenings, commonly known as *Irish ring brooches*, which also occur occasionally in Scotland. The specimens are three in number, and were formerly in the collection of the late Mr. John Huxtable, but their exact place of find is unrecorded. They are all of yellow bronze or rather brass. The largest consists of a penannular ring upwards of two inches and three-quarters across, annulated nearly throughout, like the ring of the brooch engraved in the *Journal*,¹ and has broad flat triangular terminations similar to those of the specimen from Limcrick,² but it has lost the enamels which once filled its sculp'd recesses. The decorated cylindrical head of the *dealg* or pin (five inches and a half long) may also be compared with the example last referred to, and likewise with another, of bronze, discovered in Roscommon, engraved in the *Gent. May.*, June 1844, p. 561, the pin of which is seven inches and a quarter long. The other brooches have undivided circles, the lower half of each closed by a flat plate. The larger is two inches and one-eighth across, the lower moiety having two narrow apertures down the centre, and the broad indented verge surrounding triangular panels filled with snake-like coils. It has been set with four pieces of amber, but two of the round collets are empty. The pin is four inches in length, and its head is simply bent round the superior arc of the frame.

"The pendulous circle of the third brooch is considerably smaller than either of the other specimens, being little more than an inch across. The solid portion is sculptured with the oft-recurrent *Runic knots*, and has been set, but is now *sine gemmis*. The upper half is decorated with a cable pattern, and the pivot on which the pin (four inches and three-quarters long) works has swelling sides, like those of the Irish brooch given in the *Journal*,³ and of the example from Dunipace, in Wilson's

¹ v, p. 118.

² iii, p. 285.

³ v, p. 116.

Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, p. 530. It is worthy of mention, that on the back of the brooch before us is a little loop, by which it may have been attached to the dress.

"The trinket latest in date is the most novel and interesting of the series under review. It is of a lozenge form, two inches and a half from point to point; consisting of a plaque of silver decorated with filigrane of the same metal. The verge has a bead and cable edging, and is filled with twenty-nine ovals, a small disc being placed on each outer angle, and a rosette and loop at each inner corner. In the centre of the field is a double circle surrounding a rosette of seven leaves, with pearl-shaped umbo. The tongue and hasp are lost, but the two staples between which the former moved remains, and are five-eighths of an inch asunder, so that the pivot must have been of a peculiar fashion to fit these widely separated supports. Though this trinket is undoubtedly genuine, and unspoiled by the hand of the renovator, there is some difficulty in determining its precise date, as filigrane much resembling that on its front, is seen on gold and silversmith's work from the twelfth to the close of the fourteenth century. Few lozenge-shaped fibulae are met with among the personal ornaments of the classic era, and they are rarely seen in mediæval times until the fourteenth century, when the *morse* of the ecclesiastic, and button and brooch of the laity were of this contour; and I am therefore inclined to assign this curious trinket to this period, willing, however, to waive my own notion on the matter if valid proof can be adduced of an earlier origin."

Mr. Cuming laid before the meeting some leathern vessels in addition to those exhibited and described by him in former numbers of the *Journal*.¹ They consisted of an old *borachio*, made of stout prepared hide, sewed up on one side and at the bottom, the aperture being furnished with a mouth of turned horn with screw cover and key of the same substance, for the removal of a screw plug. This vessel is somewhat flask-shaped, and will hold a full half-gallon of liquid; it offers a good illustration of the portable wine-skin.

A conic vessel, eleven inches and a half high, flat at the back and convex in the front, where it is double stitched, as is likewise the case with about half of the base, measuring seven inches across. It is exhibited by Dr. Iliff, and is constructed of very stout hide, bound round the mouth with dull red leather. Into this mouth is fitted a perforated stopper of turned wood, five inches and three-eighths long, to be removed when the skin is to be filled, but when it is to be emptied a small peg is withdrawn from the apex, which permits the liquor to flow out. A broad leathern belt with square iron buckle enables this curious vessel to be carried about the person.

A costrel of the sixteenth century, belonging to Mr. Forman, much like

¹ See vol. xv, p. 339, and xvii, p. 274.

those employed as armorial bearings by the Bottle Makers' Company, and which may also be compared with the gilded sign of Messrs. Hoare's Banking-house, Fleet-street.¹ It was ten inches wide, rather above nine inches high, the front impressed with the device of a knot, and the square buttress on each side the neck perforated with a square hole for admission of the suspending strops or cords. This vessel was long preserved with other olden relics at Barrow Hall, Lincolnshire.

Lord Boston exhibited a remarkable leathern vessel discovered about a century since buried in sand, five or six miles from Amlwch on the north-eastern side of Anglesey. It bears resemblance to a singular-shaped costrel of the time of Elizabeth, found at St. Ann's Well, near Nottingham, and known as "Robin Hood's Pocket Pistol."² The present example (see plate 15, fig. 2), is nineteen inches in length, the mouth, like the one from Nottingham, projecting from the globose butt, whilst three broad imitation bands seem to secure the barrel to the stock, on either side of which is a mimic lock. From beneath the butt and first band are projecting pieces, looking like the suspending loop and trigger, but perforated for the admission of a cord by which the costrel could be worn on the person or hung to the saddle-bow of the traveller and huntsman, for that it was designed for their service will scarcely admit of doubt; and the rarity of the type would suggest the idea that it was made for an individual of no mean rank. That hunting costrels of this material were employed by the patrician order as late as the reign of Charles II, is apparent from the words of a song in praise of "*The Leather Bottel*," printed in *The Antidote to Melancholy*, 1682.

"There's never a lord, an earl, or knight,
But in this bottle doth take delight;
For when he's hunting of the deer,
He oft doth wish for a bottle of beer."

Mr. Cuming exhibited sketches of two fine old bombards, now preserved at Knole House, Kent, one measuring fifteen inches in height, and twelve inches diameter at the base, the other sixteen inches high and eleven at the base. These dimensions are, however, exceeded by examples in the collections of Mr. Forman and Mr. Adams, which measure respectively, seventeen inches and a half, nineteen inches and three-quarters, and twenty-five inches in height, and have been exhibited to the association.

Mr. Cuming has recently obtained a great black jack or little bombard, whichever it is to be called, which he now exhibited. It is rather more than nine inches in height, and about four inches three-eighths diameter at the base; the upper edge squeezed into a slight lip in front,

¹ Journal, xvii, p. 276, fig. 2.

² Figured in the *Journal*, vol. xvii, plate 26, fig. 3, and described p. 276.

and the stout loop-handle at the back, firmly stitched on either edge, making it strong, hard, and enduring as oak, seeming to justify the old and oft repeated adage that "*There is nothing like leather.*"

Mr. C. H. Luxmoore exhibited a singular razor, apparently of the time of Elizabeth or James I, lately exhumed near the Manor-house, Larkhall-lane, Clapham. The metal portion is nearly six inches and three-quarters long, and consists of a broad backed steel blade, with long tail composed of a back and one side of brass filled with lead. The round handle with its semi-ovate butt, six inches and one-eighth long, is wrought of ebony and decorated with brass studs and circlets.

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne sent a further communication in illustration of the domestic manners in the reign of Edward I (See *Journal*, pp. 213-220, *ante*.

JUNE 11.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

J. H. Heal, Esq., of Grass Farm, Finchley, and Samuel Heywood, Esq., 4, College Green, Bristol, were elected associates.

Thanks were given for the following presents :

To the Author. Isca Silurum : an Illustrated Catalogue of the Caerleon Museum. By J. E. Lee. 1861. 8vo.

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 49. 8vo. 1862.
" " Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Vol. iii. Part iii. Edinb., 1862. 4to.

To A. Sim, Esq. Biggar, and the House of Fleming By Wm. Hunter.
Biggar, 1862. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for June 1862. 8vo.

The chairman announced that information had been forwarded to the council that, on the 8th March, a Roman coffin of lead was discovered by a weaver named Buckmaster whilst digging in his garden, No. 13, Camden Gardens, Bethnal Green. It was met with at a depth of about four feet from the surface ; and though, to all appearance, perfect when first exposed, suffered considerable damage in the careless efforts made for its removal. It seems to be much less ornamented than some of the leaden cists already described in this *Journal* (ii, 297; ix, 161; xiv, 355), the sides being quite plain, and the ends having an X-like figure flanked by uprights. Its dimensions are,—length, five feet ten inches ; width at head, one foot four inches ; at feet, one foot two inches ; depth about ten inches. This *loculus* was nearly filled with lime, through which portions of the human remains were visible. Distinct traces of lime have also been noticed on the interior of other leaden cists of the Roman



aera. A bad woodcut of this interesting relic is given in *The Illustrated London News* for April 5; where there are likewise shewn two hairpins made of jet, which were taken from the coffin, and a broken nail also extracted from the oaken coffin.

Mr. G. G. Adams exhibited a small and most exquisitely wrought figure of a couchant sphinx, with a narrow piece of fringed drapery represented on the back, looking somewhat like a saddle. A cinquecento bronze of the school of Giovanni Bologna, if it be not the actual work of this renowned sculptor. Mr. Adams also produced a vigorous group of St. George and the dragon, carved in wood. The hero is in the classic costume of the commencement of the seventeenth century, and the monster seems to writhe beneath the hoofs of the steed.

Mr. H. F. Swayne exhibited a curious cylindrical object, in bronze, discovered in Salisbury, which Mr. H. Syer Cuming identified as the metal-mount of the pommel of a war-saddle of the first half of the seventeenth century. An example of allied form is engraved in the *Catalogue* of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy (vol. i, p. 602); and the object is shewn *in situ* upon a saddle of the time of Charles I, in Skelton's *Meyrick* (pl. 127, fig. 5). The specimens in the Irish Academy vary from one inch and seven-eighths to two inches and one-eighth in length; one in Mr. Cuming's collection measures two inches and three-eighths; and Mr. Swayne's is two inches and a half from the blunt point to the straight end, which spreads into flanges perforated with rivet-holes for its attachment to the saddle-tree.

The Rev. J. Ridgway, F.S.A., exhibited the ring presented by Charles II to Richard Pendrell, and which still remains in possession of his descendants. The plain hoop is decorated in front with a group of gems consisting of a festoon of diamonds, from which rise, on the right and left, a flower, one composed of a diamond, the other of a ruby; and above is a large rhombic chrysolite, or yellow diamond. The ruby is set in gold, the rest of the trinket being of silver.

Mr. S. J. Mackie communicated the following observations—

ON SOME BRONZE AND BONE RELICS FROM HEATHERY BURN CAVE IN WEARDALE, DURHAM.

"The bronze and bone relics of the discovery of which I purpose to give a succinct account, belong, I believe, to the latter part of what is usually termed the "bronze period," that is to say, their minimum antiquity is about two centuries B.C., or about two thousand years.

"Heathery Burn Cave is situated about a mile and a quarter from Stanhope, in a tolerably deep ravine in the "great lime stone" of the carboniferous formation, and is about eight hundred feet above the level of the sea. The limestone is being quarried for the iron works of the Weardale Company, and it was in these operations that the cave was

broken into. Having intelligence sent me by Mr. J. Elliott of West Croft, at a very early stage of these operations, that osseous remains were met with, I sent him an urgent request to make a ground plan and section of the cave, to number every relic found and mark its place and position on them, giving him, also, minute instructions what to seek for. The result has been the present series of interesting relics, possessing, I think, for antiquaries an additional value, from the careful manner of their collection, leaving no doubt as to their actual association. In the cave were also human remains of a very interesting character: the skulls showing the ancient men to whom they belonged to have had peculiarly marked characters, and to have belonged to a race whose remains geologists are now finding deep in the alluvial deposits of river-beds at various places, and which race has seemingly become completely extinct. In the cave were also bones of the ox, horse, otter, badger, water-rat, goat, roebuck, and hog. The floor of the cavern was covered with a sheet-like crust of stalagmite formed by the incessant percolation of water holding carbonate of lime in suspension through the roof. When the calcareous crust was first broken through, and a small portion of fine sand and silt removed, some human remains were found and numerous bones of animals. It was at this period that I received intelligence from Mr. Elliott. As the work proceeded, more osseous remains were met with, bone-pins and a bone-knife (?), fragments of rude pottery, a portion of a jet armlet, a bronze dagger with oval socket for the hilt, a bronze socketed celt, bronze pin, bronze armlet of delicate fabric, some marine shells—mussel, oyster, limpet, and cockle, with quantities of fragments of charcoal, were found *all* deposited under from two to eight inches of stalagmite. By the kindness of Mr. Elliott, Mr. Ware, and Mr. Cordner, the contractor of the quarry, who liberally supplied workmen for the excavation of the cavern floor, all the bones and relics met with have been forwarded to me, so that the complete geological as well as antiquarian evidence on the cave can be recorded.

"The importance of an accurate notation of every new discovery of very ancient objects of art or industry associated with the *débris* of the early races of man, cannot be over-rated, as a portion of the evidence to be collected in proving or disproving the much discussed question of the high antiquity of man. It has been the practice hitherto to call very ancient antiquities Celtic, but it will be necessary to restrict this term to some definite classes of objects. Anatomists and ethnologists, so far as I am aware, do not yet know by what characters¹ to define a Celtic skull, and I think it would be worth the attention of antiquaries. I am sure it would be of great value to geologists and ethnologists to attempt the division of the older and more primitive antiquities more definitely into

¹ For excellent information on this subject, see *Crania Britunnica*, by our associates, Drs. Davis and Thurnham.

race-groups. Geologists in their researches in sub-superficial soils, and in very ancient peat-beds and graves, have found traces in these islands of probably three unrecorded races of men. In the relics of the stone age—in other countries as well as here—we have evidence of two *periods* at least, if not of distinct races. We have a period when the stone weapons were merely chipped; we have a period when they were ground and polished. In comparing these bronze reliques with the collections of bronze articles in the British Museum, I was struck with the fact that while most of these earlier than Roman bronzes was cast, many of them were *hammered*. Would such a distinction indicate an improvement of manufacture? Would hammering harden or produce any beneficial effect upon bronze as it does on iron? If so, such hammered instruments might be regarded as the workmanship of a more cultivated people, and the bronze period be, with certain reservations in this respect, divided into an earlier and a later period.

"Many of the hollow bones found in the Heathery Burn Cave are split longitudinally seemingly for the extraction of the marrow; the limpet, mussel, and oyster shells, and fragments of burned bones, seem also to be the debris of meals. In some places, too, the floor of the cavern was covered with small bones of fishes and frogs. Moreover, amongst the bronze reliques will be seen the surplus portion of a casting, which indicates the actual manufacture of the bronze articles within the cavern. These facts, and the presence of quantities of charcoal fragments and broken pottery, leave no doubt that the cave was inhabited by the human beings whose sapless bones we have found associated with these instructive evidences of their domestic life."

Mr. Gunston exhibited various reliques lately recovered from the bed of the river Fleet, from which the following may be selected for special mention: two small pen-knives, the earliest with a blade about one inch and seven-eighths in length, stamped with an I; the flat tang, two inches and three-quarters long, having its sides covered with slices of ox-horn: date, fifteenth century. The second has a broader blade, two inches and one-eighth long; the handle, two inches and a half long, consists of a quadrangular stem and flat tang, which has been covered with either wood or horn: date, sixteenth century. All the remaining articles are of the latter æra. A wooden haft of a dagger, three inches and a quarter long, carved with a spiral band of knot-work verged with zigzags, the ends bound with iron, and the flat top having a sort of cruciformed device inlaid in metal. Knife carried in the front of the dagger-sheath; the blade five inches and a half long, having one side engraved with the initials G. W., and the other with what seems to be a shield charged with three piles meeting in point, with a stag springing forward for crest; the haft is covered on either side with wood, and terminates in an acorn. Little knife, the bone haft of which is carved to represent a female bust,

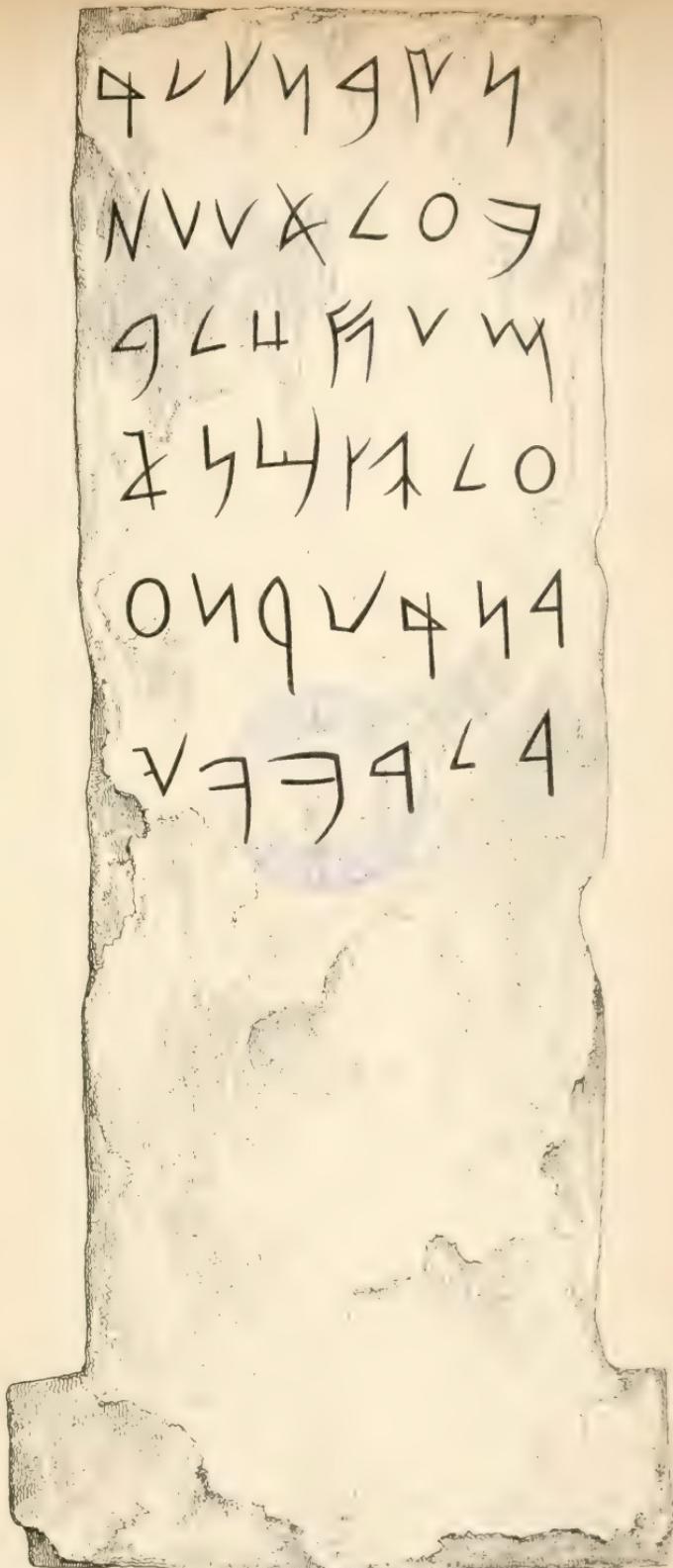
which bears, both in features and costume, a striking resemblance to Catherine de Medicis, wife of Henry II of France. Bone haft of a knife, the ornamental top of which is engraved with circlets and dots, and the flat sides with cross-bar work filled with a silver-like amalgam. Portion of a knife-blade with a few lines of inscription on either side, which seems to read, LEAVE TO DELYTE IN ME. HAND OF (a hand holding a flagon) THE DRUNKEN NEED AND WANT CREDYT KRYE AN—? 1566? Steel, five inches and a half long, quadrangular, with perforated disc at top for suspension. The sharpening portion of this implement nearly agrees in form with the Roman steel found in London, and now in the British Museum. It is, however, of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Mr. Charles Whitley exhibited the urns found at Hoddesdon, and referred to at a previous meeting (see p. 268 *ante*), and stated that no sepulchral remains were found within them at the time of their discovery. They were in a gravel pit not a hundred yards from the present high-road.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., exhibited for Mr. Robt. Jennings a sceatta found in Southampton, in the same neighbourhood (St. Mary's Road) from which other Saxon coins have been discovered, viz., the old Saxon bone-pits, of which accounts have been given in previous numbers of this *Journal*. This sceatta is that marked No. 5 in Ruding, and is in good preservation. The finding of the coin is interesting as confirming the deductions formerly drawn of the extension of the ancient site of Southampton to this part.

Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., made the following communication on a Phœnician inscription discovered at Malta:—

Great interest naturally attaches to any Phœnician inscription, and the additions made to our scanty stock by the researches of the Rev. Nathan Davis, during his excavations at Carthage, at the expense and on behalf of the English government, the products of which are now in the British Museum, and an account of which has lately been put forth by Mr. Franks in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxviii, part i), are of much value and importance. The tablets with Phœnician inscriptions discovered at Carthage prior to Mr. Davis's discoveries are stated by Mr. Franks to have amounted only to seventeen in number, scattered about in museums in different parts of Europe. To these have now been added no less than seventy-three others. They are chiefly on limestone or a fine sandstone (one only on marble), not of very great magnitude or extent, the largest measuring not more than twelve inches in height and seven inches in breadth. My learned friend, Mr. Kenrick, of whose work on *Phœnicia* I have made a few remarks in this *Journal* (vol. xii, pp. 188-191), has done much in directing public attention to this interesting branch of antiquarian inquiry; and in that part of his work relating to the alphabet, language, and literature of Phœnicia, will be



PHOENICIAN ALTAR.



found many valuable observations to aid us in our researches. To the inscriptions of which we are already possessed by the labours of Gese-nius, Judas, Kenrick, and others, I have now, by the kindness of Mr. Frere, of Roydon, through my friend, Mr. T. E. Amyot, the pleasure to add another example found at Malta, which has not, I believe, been hitherto recorded. It has been found among the papers of the late — Frere, Esq., of Malta, who died in 1848, and is accompanied by an explanation and attempted interpretation by the Rev. Mr. Marmara, Hebrew Professor in the Academy of Malta. The inscription occupies six lines, and is sculptured on a stone one palm and a half in height.

There are seven letters in the *first* line expressed Hebraically, as Lamed, Tsadi, Resh, Caph, Lamed, Lamed, and a final Aleph.

The *second* line has the letters Beth, Azin, Lamed, Aleph, Nun, Iod, Tau.

The *third* line has Shin, Caph, Vau, Nun, Caph, Lamed, and Beth.

The *fourth* line, Ayin, Lamed, Aleph, Caph, Mem, Lamed, and Aleph.

The *fifth* line, Resh, Nun, Aleph, Ayin, Daleth, Iod, Nun, and Ayin.

The *sixth* line, Daleth, Lamed, Daleth, Beth, Resh, Iod, and Mem.

Whence the translation, given in Latin, may be stated as:

1. Thyro perfecta decoris,
2. Domina Classium,
3. Quæ sicut cor sita (scilicet centralis),
4. Excelsa omnino plena gaudii,
5. Voluptuosa, deliciosa, plusquam quod
6. Sermone exprimi potest.

Or, in English,—

1. Thyo, the perfection of beauty,
2. Woman of women,
3. The centre of society, as the heart is of the body,
4. All superior, joy itself,
5. The source of pleasure and delight, more than
6. Language can express.

It is rather remarkable that no inscribed stone has hitherto been discovered within the limits of Phœnicia itself. Those we possess have been obtained from the colonies of the Phœnicians established in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Central Mediterranean, the Western Mediterranean, and in Northern Africa; the latter affording the greatest number of examples derived during excavations made at Carthage. From Cyprus and Cilicia, Athens, the Mediterranean islands, especially Sicily and Malta, we have many examples; and coins belonging to the Punic branch, have been abundant, especially since the conquest of Algeria by the French nation.

Phœnician characters have been found upon Babylonian bricks, and Cuneiform and Phœnician inscriptions were discovered at Nineveh.

Egypt has also furnished a few instances to add to this enumeration; but they have served little to illustrate the obscure origin of the Phœnician language. Mr. Kenrick esteems the purest examples of the Phœnician alphabet to be those exhibited in the inscriptions obtained at Malta, Athens, Cyprus, and Sardinia, and on the coins of Phœnicia, Sicily, and the adjacent islands. According to Luynes (*Num. et Inscr. Cypriotes*, p. 39-42) a special alphabet belonged to Cyprus, composed of Phœnician, Egyptian, and Lycian characters, which corresponded with the mixed population of that island. This is, however, to be looked upon rather as a speculation, since no interpretation of this composite character has hitherto been found. The one point clearly established, must be regarded as the affinity between the Phœnician and the Hebrew, and by this we are enabled to arrive at a knowledge of the nature and purport of the inscriptions. Although the greater number of the historians who have enlightened us upon the subject of Phœnicia, are those known to us under Greek names, among whom may be cited Theodotus, Philostratus, Hypsicrates, Dius, Menander, &c., it must be admitted that we have derived but very little information in regard to the literature of Phœnicia, through the medium of Greek translation. The oldest or archaic Greek characters date according to Franz (*Epigraphik*, p. 39), only from 620 to 460 b.c.

The tablets received from Carthage at the British Museum, are chiefly votive. Fac-similes of the inscriptions, I am rejoiced to learn, are ordered for publication by the trustees, together with others of the same description, an essential service to the interpretation of Phœnician epigraphy, tablets under the care and editorship of Mr. W. S. W. Vaux. Some of those have various ornaments or symbols scratched as it were upon them by some sharp pointed instrument, and some are sculptured in low relief. Mr. Franks has given representations of a few in the *Archæologia* (vol. 88, pp. 209-220.) They consist of the egg and tongue mouldings, fleurons of honeysuckle pattern, or wreaths, and Mr. Franks especially directs attention to one as most common and remarkable, which consists of a triangular form surmounted by a circle, and two curved arms, which is conjectured to represent TANITH, the great goddess of Carthage, the Celestris, Urania, or Juno of the Romans (p. 216).

No kind of ornamentation seems to have pertained to the stone presenting the inscription now laid before the Association, the purport of which appears simply to record the great beauty, the high mental qualities and other perfections of the person to whom it is dedicated.

NOVEMBER 26.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The chairman announced that, in consequence of the continued indisposition of Mr. Pettigrew, the council had revived the third secretaryship of the Association; and that Edward Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., had been unanimously appointed to that office, to aid the treasurer in the various duties he had undertaken to perform.

The following new associates were elected:

- Francis Drake, Esq., 30, Market-street, Leicester.
- Wilson Pearson, Esq., LL.D., Castle Donington.
- Capt. Hartopp, Royal Horse Guards.
- Thos. Redman, Esq., New-street, Leicester.
- Samuel Viccars, Esq., Mayor of Leicester.
- James Thompson, Esq., Leicester.
- Thomas North, Esq., Southfields, Leicester.
- H. P. Markham, Esq., Mayor of Northampton.
- E. F. Law, Esq., Northampton.
- Thomas Scriven, Esq., Northampton.
- Jeremiah Long, Esq., Park-street, Westminster.
- Capt. Meadows Taylor, Old Court, Harold's Cross, Dublin.
- Major Noel, Clam-a-Falls, Lydney, Gloucestershire.
- John Wimble, Esq., 2, Walbrook.
- Henry Perry Cotton, Esq., Primrose Hill, Regent's Park.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

- From the Cambrian Archaeological Association.* *Archæologia Cambrensis.*
3rd Series. Vols. i to vii. 1855-61. Lond. 8vo.
- " " For July and Oct. 1862. 8vo.
- From the Society.* Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society for January, April, and July. Nos. 35, 36, 37. Dublin. 8vo.
- " " Archaeological Journal of the Archaeological Institute. Nos. 72, 73, 74, for Oct. 1861, and March and June 1862. 8vo.
- " " Numismatic Chronicle for June and Sept. 1862. Lond. 8vo.
- " " Canadian Journal for May and July 1862. Toronto. 8vo.
- " " Proceedings of the Royal Society. Nos. 50 and 51. Lond. 8vo.
- " " Society of Antiquaries from June 1860 to April 1861. 3 Parts. Lond. 8vo.
- " " List of the Society of Antiquaries. April 1862. Lond. 8vo.

From the Society. Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. 1850-1860. Copenhagen, 1861. 8vo.

„ „ Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed. 1859. Kjöben. 8vo.

„ „ Report of the Architectural Museum, 1862. Lond. 8vo.

„ „ Congrès Archéologique de France. 27^e Session. Paris. 8vo. 1861.

„ „ Pamatky Archæologické a Mistopisne. 4 vols., 4to. Prague, 1855-60.

„ „ Starožilnosti a Památky země České. 4to. Prague, 1860.

The Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for July, Aug., Sept., Oct., and Nov. 1862. Lond. 8vo.

The Author. Wiltshire (Rev. Thos.) on the Ancient Implements of Yorkshire and the Modern Fabrication of similar Specimens. Lond. 8vo. 1862.

„ „ Flint Implements in the Drift. By John Evans, F.S.A. Lond. 4to. 1862.

Thos. Close, Esq. The Use and Abuse of Red Bricks. By the Rev. E. Trollope. 8vo. 1858.

„ „ Hereward, the Saxon Patriot. By the same. 1861. 8vo.

„ „ Pedigrees of the Tattershall Cromwell, and of the Wake's Pedigrees. By Thos. Close, F.S.A. Lond., 1862. 8vo.

J. O. Halliwell, Esq. List of Antiquities in the Hundreds of Kirrier and Penwith, West Cornwall. By J. C. Blight. Truro, 1862. 8vo.

Royal Italian Commission. Official Descriptive Catalogue, International Exhibition, 1862. Lond. 8vo.

The Author. History and Description of Needle-Making. By M. T. Morrall. 12mo. Manchester, 1862.

The Museum. Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Works in this Section of the South Kensington Museum. By J. C. Robinson, F.S.A. Lond., 1862. 8vo.

The Society. Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society. Vol. i. Part 1. Leicester, 1862. 8vo.

Mr. J. Moore transmitted a curious châtelaine of seventy-nine links of brass wire, with loop of the same material at the top for the waist-girdle to pass through; and the ornamental portion of a rosary of the seventeenth century at the lower end, to which the following objects are appended by hooks and loops:—very small, ancient buckle of brass; ditto of larger size, similar to one found in Kent, figured in the *Museum Britannicum* (x, 4); small brass key of the fourteenth or fifteenth century; larger key, of iron, of the fifteenth century, much like one from Shalford, Surrey, given in the *Gent. Mag.*, Aug. 1786 (p. 633); brass hasp of a book-cover, sixteenth century; and thumb-piece of a brass watch-key, with device of a shell on either side, of the time of Queen

Anne or George I, which may be taken as indicative of the period of the employment of this singular trinket, which was found in a sewer in the town of Axminster, Devonshire. (For a history of châtelaines, see *Journal*, xvii, 225.)

Mr. Doubleday exhibited two gold coins found on the Chessel Bank, Weymouth. The earliest was met with in 1857, an angel of Edward IV (1461-83). The devices are as usual, St. Michael and the dragon, and a ship with the royal arms fixed to the cruciformed mast. Legend: *obv.*, EDWARD' DEI . GRA . REX . ANGL . Z . FRANCE .; *rev.*, PER CRUCEM TVA' SALVA NOS XPE REDEMPT. On one side of the mast, E; on the other, a rose. Weight, three pennyweights seven grains. (For angels of Richard III and Henry VIII, see *Journals*, i, 268, and 285 *ante*.) The second piece is a ducat of Philip V of Spain (1700-45), found July 1862: *obv.*, cross potent, in the first and fourth quarters a castle for Castile; in the second and third, a lion for Leon; legend, PHILIPPVS . V . D . G . HIS .; *rev.*, Pillars of Hercules, with the following arranged in three lines, 8—P . V . A.—7 . 3 . 0 .; legend, ET . INDIARVM. Weight, seventeen pennyweights nine grains.

Dr. Kendrick announced the further discovery of antiquities at Wilderspool, the presumed site of the *Condate*¹ of Antoninus, situate about half a mile from Warrington. The remains were met with in what are termed by the labourers "baking-holes," *i.e.*, pits in form of inverted cones, such as are seen on other sites, and from which many important relics have been rescued. In 1861 attention was directed to a Druid amulet of coloured glass from this locality;² and Dr. Kendrick now brings to notice a portion of a large melting-pot, which may tend to shew that the vitreous nodule owed its origin to this spot. The fragment is nearly an inch and three-quarters thick; and the paste of a pale buff colour, in which are mingled small angular pieces of silex. The smooth bottom exhibits evident effects of fire, and the upper surface is coated with vitreous matter, one part being coloured blue by oxide of cobalt; but the main part consisting of silicate of soda, lime, and perhaps a little tin; though more likely protoxide of iron, which, from being somewhat in excess towards the edge, has produced a yellowish brown tinge. It will be remembered that these several ingredients enter into the composition of the before mentioned amulet. It is believed that this fragment of melting-pot offers the earliest trace of native glass manufacture which has yet been pointed out.

Though Samian ware is abundant at Wilderspool, no fragment has yet been met with bearing the potter's stamp, and embossed examples are

¹ Dr. Smith, in his *Classical Dictionary*, states that Condate is "the name of many Celtic towns, said to be equivalent in meaning to *confluentes*,—*i.e.*, the union of two rivers."

² See *Journal*, xvii, 60.

very rare : a fragment of a bowl is, however, now produced, ornamented with graceful tendrils and a bold wreath of foliage.

A further discovery is a sepulchral olla filled with incinerated human bones mixed with sand. The vessel bears a band of lattice pattern, is evidently of Upchurch fabric, and offers a curious proof of how far and wide the products of the Kentish potters were dispersed through the land.

One of the most interesting objects lately brought to light is a Roman brand-iron, which will be fully described on a future occasion.

Dr. J. Kendrick also exhibited the remains of an iron spur of the time of Henry V, exhumed near the ancient priory of Warrington, and resembling the one given in the *Journal* (xiii, pl. 30, fig. 1); and he produced the brass lid of a German tobacco-box, two inches and five-eighths diameter, embossed with a hunting subject consisting of four horsemen with feathered caps, a speared bull, and two dogs ; and in the heavens, the sun with six rays, like the arms of a star-fish. Date, second half of seventeenth century.

Mr. J. Moore transmitted some antiquities found at West Coker, accompanied by the following observations :

"ROMAN VILLA, WEST COKER, SOMERSETSHIRE.

"A short time since I drew attention to the circumstance of my being present at the discovery of a fragment of tessellated pavement in the parish of East Coker, in the year 1820. It was found in a field called Chessells. I met there the late Sir Richard Hoare and the Rev. Mr. Skinner. I asked the latter gentleman the meaning of the word 'Chessells,' having a field in West Coker called by the same name. I considered it had allusion to the sandy soil of the locality; but, in addition, he said it meant the 'great house' or 'place.'¹ He added : 'Search in your field, and it is my opinion you will find Roman remains.' I did so, and on the surface I picked up enough to satisfy me that he was right. However, though I intended it from time to time, yet the real exploration was delayed till June 1861. We then carefully and fairly examined the spot selected, digging down about two feet of dark, rich soil. Beneath this the *débris*, consisting of unmistakable Roman articles, were observed to the depth of a foot or more. I mean stones, tesseræ, plaster, tiles, pottery, nails in abundance, a few articles in bronze, coins, flints, bones, etc., mixed with the soil. The spot we examined was about seven yards by fifteen yards, and all over to the bottom, till we came to undisturbed

¹ Whatever the true meaning of this name may be, we find it in various counties. There is a Chesselborne and Chislehampton in Dorset. The isle of Portland is connected with the mainland by the Chesilbank. Somerset has its Chisleborough, Wilts its Chiseldon, Kent its Chislehurst; and in Gloucestershire the common people call Roman coins *chesle money* (see Halliwell's *Dict.*) For a notice of Chessel Down, Isle of Wight, see *Journal*, v, 357.

soil below. There was no possibility of tracing rooms or walls, except in a few spots a fragment of masonry, consisting of four or five rough stones of the country, were met with set one on another.

"The villa or station had been burnt down, and a subsequent building erected of burnt stones; whether walls only, or habitations, could not be ascertained; but in one instance I examined a wall-fragment of six stones *in situ*. These stones were worn as if they had been trod on; the lower one was burnt red, and under that some tesserae and bones were seen. In some spots a rude pavement of the stones of the country remained,—a court or path perhaps,—but fragmentary.¹ I am sorry to say the spot had been rifled. To prove it, I saw in one place about a hundred blue lias tesserae heaped together, mostly of a triangular form; in another, a mass of broken tiles; in another, red tesserae about an inch and a half in size; a mass of broken plaster also,—on the outside beautiful colours still remained quite fresh. The stones were mostly small, and got from the neighbouring hills: some from Ham Hill, four miles off. Tiles of a bluish white colour were found, some rounded at bottom, some pointed, some with nail-holes, some without, but almost all broken. And there was a substance composed of cow- or horse-dung and clay in many situations. How could this be applied?

"We searched, by making holes to the depth of two feet or more, in various parts of the field, and universally found the same results,—that is, wrecks of stones, tesserae, etc., in every instance from two to three feet deep. We also discovered about fifty-one yards from our digging, to the westward, an ash-pit. This was partly opened, but not enough. Owing to the farmer wishing to cultivate the field, the parallelogram of seven yards by fifteen yards was filled in and abandoned. The ash-pit remains for further investigation.

"The various relics here found may be thrown into the following groups:

"*Animal remains.*—Horn core of the short-horned ox; bones and teeth of the ox, sheep, hog, horse, deer, etc.; tine and portion of the branch of the antler of a stag, the latter exhibiting broad tool-marks such as occur on similar fragments in early British interments;² oyster-shells.

"*Lithic remains.*—Flint blades of arrows, javelins, and knives, of rude fabric; ball of chert, about two inches and a half diameter, weighing some five ounces; intended either for the sling, or else to be tied up in a leathern thong attached to a staff, and employed as a sort of mace. Such balls are not unfrequent in the graves of the stone period. Bead of Kimmeridge coal.

¹ In this court was a walled *grave*, two feet long, sixteen inches broad, ten inches deep, made of stones set on edge, about one inch thick: the bottom composed of two stones. It contained sheep bones and dark, fatty earth.

² There can be little doubt that the Roman villa was erected on the site of a British interment.

“Bronze remains.—Fragment of a Celtic spear-blade; statuette of Mars (see plate 17, fig. 1), about three inches high, nude, except a crested *galea* (see fig. 1b); the hands out-stretched, one to receive a lance, the other to grasp the *manubrium* of a *clipeus*. It has every appearance of being of *early Etruscan fabric*. Part of a delicate wire bracelet. Ring-fibula (see fig. 2), similar in character to one found in Dorsetshire, given in our *Journal* (iii, 97, fig. 8). *Volcella*, full three inches in length, with circular spring to hang on the châtelaine (fig. 3). It may be compared with examples from Dorset and Essex, engraved in *Journal* (iii, 98, 177).¹

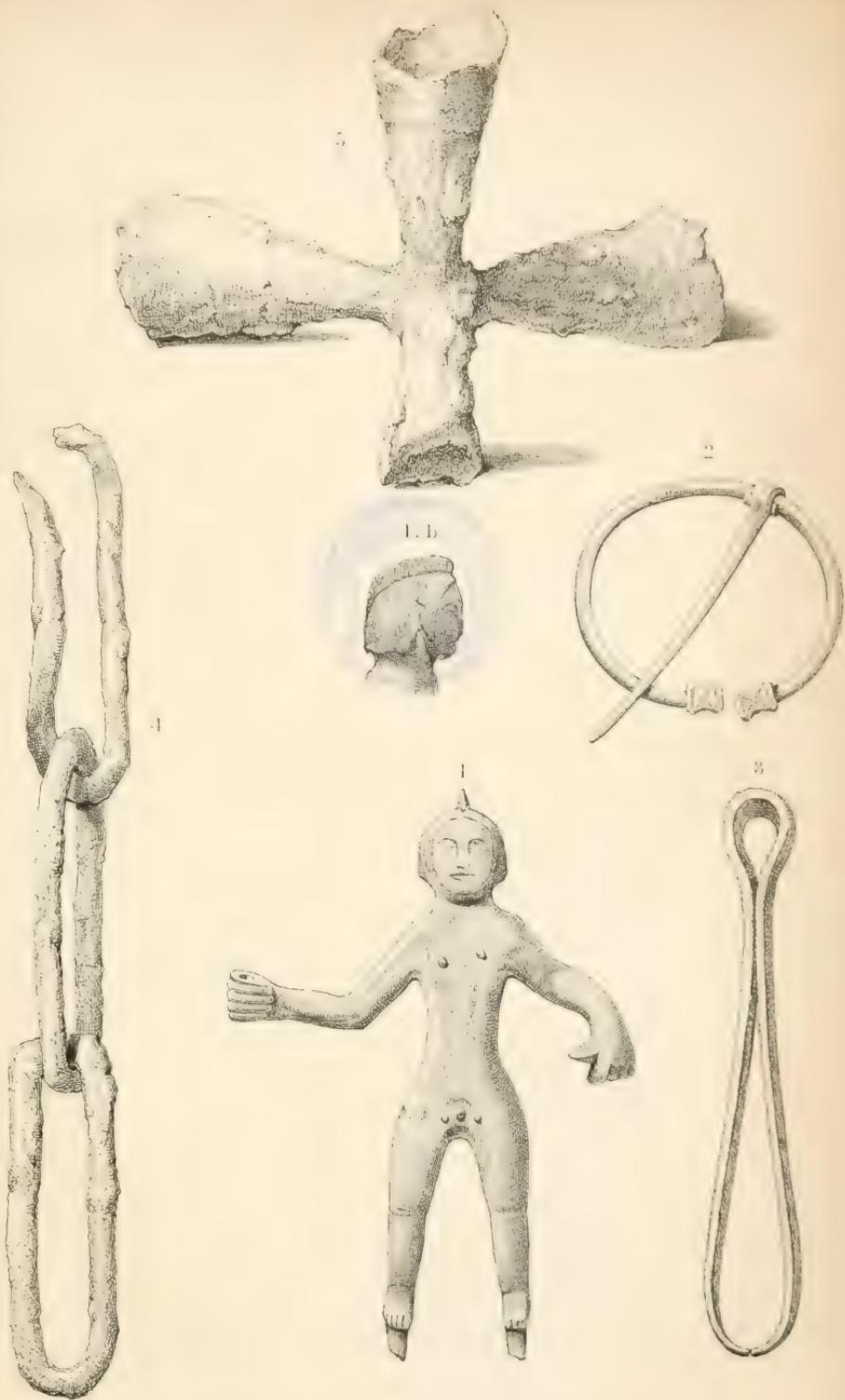
“Iron remains.—Nails of various shapes and lengths, one having a head two inches diameter; part of a hinge with a coin adherent; writing style (?); three links of a *catena* for suspending the cooking-vessel over the hearth (fig. 4); four conic sockets, united at their bases in the manner of a caltrop: use unknown (fig. 5).

“Fictilia.—A great variety of different kinds of ware, from the fine Samian to the coarsest fabric of pottery.

“Vitrea.—Scoria, perhaps of glass.

“The coins from this locality extend in date from the second to the fourth century, and, generally speaking, are in very poor condition. The earliest is a *sestertius* of Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius; and the best preserved, an *argenteus* of Marcia Otacilia Severa, wife of the elder Philip: *rev.*, sedant figure of CONCORDIA AVGG. All the other coins are third brass, of the following emperors: Tetricus the Elder (PAX . AVG); Claudius Gothicus; Allectus (*rev.*, galley; in exergue, Q. C.); Theodosia II, wife of Constantius Chlorus (PAX . PVBLICA), minted at Treves; Constantinus Maximus (VRBS ROMA), minted at Aquileia; CONSTANTINOPOLIS, minted at Treves; Crispus (SOLI INVICTO COMITI), minted at London; Constantinus II; Constantius II and Valens (in field, OF. II., officina ii). Beside the authentic Roman money there is a coin of base silver, weighing thirty grains and a half, of most peculiar fabric; far more like a rude Saxon penny than an imperial *argenteus*; but the legend seems to be, FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . P . F . NOB . C. The long-necked bust is turned to the right, and the almond-shaped eye reaches from the flat nose to near the back of the head. The *rev.* has an equestrian warrior spearing a prostrate foe; GLORIA EXERCITVS; exergue, A (?) CONST. It is clear that the artist had a coin of Constantine II, minted at Constantinople, before him when he wrought the die for this singular piece. But are we to consider it as a Roman forgery, or the issue of a native prince after the departure of the imperial legions? A forger of the time of Constantius would surely have striven to make a truthful imitation of the genuine money; but in the present instance the main desire seems to have been to produce a coin with an

¹ For a notice of *volcellæ*, see *Journal*, xvii, 226.





obverse, reverse, and legends, somewhat resembling the imperial currency of the fourth century, but with no wish for it to be a servile copy of the archetype."

Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth, transmitted the remains of two Limoges enamels: one being the conical lid of a pix (see plate 18, fig. 1), found in clearing out the river at Honnington, near Ixworth; the other (fig. 2), a small plaque exhumed at Ixworth, Suffolk. The former may be referred to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, and manifests a strong Byzantine influence. Its decorations consist of four circles: the first containing the initials IHS ; the second, a demi-figure of an angel; the third, the letters XPS ; the fourth, another angel; and between each circle there is foliage. (See fig. 3.) Though nearly all the enamel is broken from the copper surface of this lid, sufficient is yet left to decide that the foliage was on a small, blue field, the letters on a white field, and the angels on a turquoise-blue field.

The plaque is about two inches square, and must be assigned to the commencement of the thirteenth century. It bears the winged angel of St. Matthew, and served as one of the evangelistic symbols riveted on the corners of the cover of the Gospels. From a few fragments of enamel remaining on the copper, it is evident that the border of the subject and nimbus of the angel were filled with white, the field with small blue, and a disc on each side the figure, yellow with green centre. It may be added, that the head of the angel is in relief, holding a book in the left hand, with the right placed upon the breast; and further, that the outline of the details have been gilt. These specimens are interesting additions to the examples of *champ-levé* enamels already noticed in this *Journal*.

Mr. Warren also sent the following gems for exhibition: 1, a quadriga, oval intaglio of dark red carnelian; 2, sphinx seated, circular intaglio of light red carnelian; 3, bust of Hesiod (?), oval intaglio of light red carnelian; 4, nude figure of Bacchus with *cantharus* and *thyrsus*, oval intaglio of brown calcedony set in a gold finger-ring; 5, bearded mask, cameo of green plasma on oval of grey calcedony, set in a gold finger-ring; 6, bust of Faustina (?), oval cameo, white on grey calcedony, set in a gold finger-ring; 7, horse tied to the stump of a tree, circular cameo, brown on green calcedony, set in a gold finger-ring.

A paper descriptive of the tumulus of Maes-Howe, in the Orkneys; and a comparative statement of the translation of the Runic inscriptions found therein, by the Rev. Principal Barclay, Professors Stephens, Munch, and Rafn, drawn up by Mr. Pettigrew, were read, introductory to the reading of Principal Barclay's paper on the inscriptions, which will be printed and illustrated in the *Collectanea Archaeologica* of the Association. A special vote of thanks was passed by acclamation to the Rev.

Principal Barclay for his highly learned and interesting communication. The proceedings terminated by some observations on the tumuli and the inscriptions by Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., Mr. George Vere Irving, V.P., and the chairman, who gave an account of several he had in early life examined and was familiar with.

DECEMBER 10.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

Mrs. Lee, of Hartwell House, Bucks, was elected an associate. Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Institution.* Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1860. Washington. 8vo. 1861.
 " " Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Vols. i, ii, iii, iv. Washington, 1862. 8vo.
 " " Results of Meteorological Observations under the Direction of the Smithsonian Institution, from 1854-1859. Vol. i. Washington, 1861. 4to.
 " " Catalogue of Publications of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington, 1862. 8vo.
 " " Thirteenth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, on the State Cabinet of Natural History and the Historical and Antiquarian Collection annexed thereto. Albany, 1860. 8vo.

J. T. Irvine, Esq. Etchings of the Font at West Chesborough, Dorset; ditto at Shaston Old Church; Poor-Box at Old Shaftesbury Church; North Door of Sherborne Church, Hampshire; Alms-Box and Font at Buckland Newton; Purbeck Marble Slab in Chancel of Frome St. Quintin, Dorset; Easter Sepulchre, Lidlinge Church, Dorset; and Font at Balcoombe, Dorset. By Mr. Irvine.

The Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for December 1862. 8vo.

The President. A knife with handle (seventeenth century), found in the grounds of the president at Hartwell.

Mr. Cecil Brent laid before the meeting various objects found within the last few months in Kent. A nearly perfect patera of Samian ware with the maker's stamp, *ARATICI . M.*, found in St. Dunstan's church-yard, Canterbury. Three vessels of Upchurch pottery, found at Upchurch, viz., a bottle somewhat like that given in *Journal* (vol. ii, p. 134, fig. 3), but without handle; an olla similar to fig. 6; and a squat vessel of the same type as given in fig. 7. A circular pectoral reliquary of silver, exhumed in the burial-ground of Upchurch (figured in plate 18,

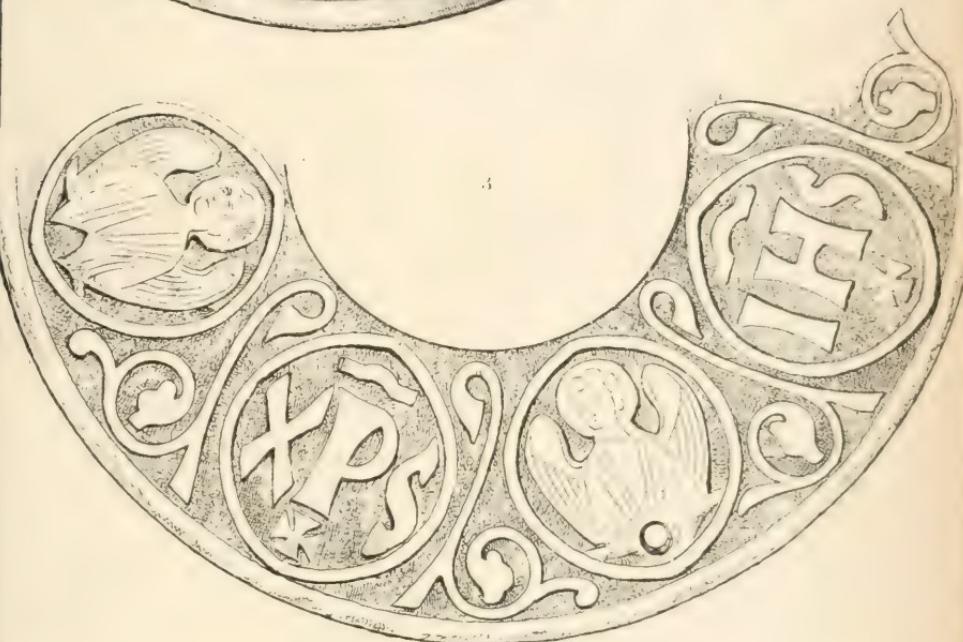




fig. 5). It is three-fifths of an inch thick, and an inch and a quarter diameter, and bears in repoussé the Agnus Dei, nimbed, standing on a mount, gazing at the holy banner which is planted beyond it. This banner is cleft in two at the end, and blazoned with a cross, another cross terminating the staff. The field is surrounded by a slightly elevated edge which serves as an auricole: the whole presenting the appearance of an *imago clypeate*. On the edge are a staple and ring for suspension. The second person of the Trinity is figured as a lamb as early as the fourth century, and is accompanied by the banner of the resurrection at least as far back as the eleventh century. The reliquary from Upchurch would seem to be the work of about the fifteenth century, and probably once held an Agnus Dei; the waxen cake, stamped with the image of the Holy Lamb, made at Rome and consecrated by the pope. Cardinal Bellarmine makes mention of an Agnus Dei enclosed in gold bedight with gems, which Leo III sent to the Emperor Charlemagne A.D. 798; and in Mr. Cuming's collection is a circular reliquary of glass and filigrane, in the centre of which is an oval Agnus Dei surrounded by fragments of stone, etc., from the holy places of Jerusalem. The brass haft of a knife, of about the middle of the seventeenth century, representing a sportsman standing with his gun and dog. It was found in digging a sewer in High-street, Canterbury. It belongs to the same class of handles as that given in the *Journal* (xv, p. 346).

Mr. C. H. Luxmoore exhibited an elegant oval scent-box, about two inches and three-fifths long and one inch and two-fifths high, of brass; the flat top and sides elaborately decorated with foliate scrolls and flowers of black, white, and blue, cloisonnée enamel. A projecting piece at one end seems to be the root of a hook or loop by which the trinket was suspended to the waist-girdle. The presence of a fleur-de-lis on this projection is suggestive of a French origin. Date, sixteenth century. (See plate 18, fig. 4.)

Mr. Baskcomb called attention to three objects found in making some alterations in the Manor House, Chislehurst, Kent. The oldest is a German key, of the early part of the seventeenth century, met with beneath the flooring. It is of iron, the bow composed of scrolls surmounted by a crown or coronet, the pipe filled with a spring plug, and the edge of the bit perforated to pass over a peg in the entrance of the lock. The other two articles were discovered in a small cupboard which had long since been built up in a wall in a passage. The first is a silver watch of the second half of the seventeenth century, an inch and a quarter diameter; the face covered with a convex glass; the dial of brilliant emerald-green translucent enamel, surrounded by a circle of white enamel on which the hours are marked in Roman numerals, and the half-hours with dots in black. The gilt hands are elegantly perforated, as is likewise the "cock." On the plate is engraved the maker's name,

"Roumieu a Rouen." The metal case is covered with black leather decked with knot-work and numerous rosettes of silver piqué. Rouen was once noted for its watches. The family of Hubert seem to have been the chief manufacturers during the seventeenth century, Noel and the two Etientes being its most distinguished members. The productions of Roumieu are less known than those of the Huberts.

The second object is a Chinese teapot of fine terra-cotta, of singular design, representing the fruit of the pomegranate resting on three feet composed of the lien-wha (*nelumbium speciosum*), the lichi (*dimocarpus lichi*), and the walnut. The nut of the *trapa bicornis* serves as the handle, and a portion of "the hand of Fô" (*citrus sacodactylus*) for the spout, above which is the hwa-sâng, or ground-nut (*arachis hypogaea*), and near it a pumpkin-seed. A few other small fruits are dispersed about; and the lid of the vessel is an *agaricus* reversed, so as to exhibit the red gills, and by its stem grows a little "button." A circular and square seal, by the side of the spout, gives the maker's name. The "rustic pieces" of Bernard Palissy may be more picturesque, and the vases and ewers of Capo di Monte more elegant, than this Chinese teapot; but so far as truthfulness of form and colour are concerned, it may be pronounced perfection.

Mr. Edw. Roberts, F.S.A., laid before the Association a copy of *Il Decamerone* of Boccacio, printed at Venice, 1594. It was remarkable for its stamped binding, in vellum, on the subjects of which, mottos, etc. Mr. Walter T. Roberts read some remarks. It appears to have belonged to a Duke of Saxony.

Mr. Thos. Wright, F.S.A., made a report on the most recent discoveries made in the cemetery of Uriconium. It will be printed *in extenso* in a future *Journal*, and in continuation of previous papers.

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne read a fourth and concluding paper in illustration of domestic manners in the reign of Edward I, as shewn by the expense roll of the Princess Elizabeth, Countess of Holland and Hereford. (See pp. 318-332 *ante.*)

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